/16 cont./
two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.462-A] Teklum

682 674 656 long, and that the body was suspended 35 centimeters from the ground. He saw that we had raised the act well, and nothing was done.

*Who Kills and Why*

682 562 The only universal factor among the killers is sex—only men kill (Table 2). Women do not kill nor are they killed in Teklum. This does not mean that they are not subject to as many tensions or abuses as men, or that these have no channels for expression. Women work through men by agitating them to homicide. [593] Sometimes revenge is delayed, for the agents chosen by women may be children who must reach maturity before accomplishing the deed (see case 36, in which the son's animosity toward his father was kindled at his mother's deathbed).

682 683 621 Neighbors are a significant group in witchcraft killing. (Neighbors may be listed in Table 2 under another relationship, for instance as brother-in-law or as cattle owner.) They are the informal judges of suspected witches, and it is frequently they who kill a man considered to be a witch. When the curers accuse a man of causing epidemics, his neighbors are usually the executors. For this reason, [608] most people try to neutralize the hostility of

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum
[P.462-B]

682 their neighbors by establishing *compadrazgo*, or
683 godparental, relations with them.
621 Ten of the 37 homicides here reported were
608 committed by immediate consanguineal or
affinal relatives of the victim. The high fre-
682 quency of killings involving brothers or
593 brothers-in-law (8 cases) suggests a locus of
607 high tension in these relationships. Male
[602] siblings, the *yermanotak*, comprise the closest
[476] cooperating group. Cooperation between
brothers is obligatory when wheat is to be
threshed, a house built, or a roof rethatched. If
a brother or brother-in-law is unavoidably
absent, he must pay a substitute. Brothers, or
sons and fathers, are the only relationship
[428] pairs who work the milpa in common and share
the harvest. Bilateral inheritance, with equal
division of land and house to both male and
female offspring, means that brothers-in-law
are potentially equivalent in the competition
for goods as well as in their obligation to co-
operate. A man kills his sister's husband if the
husband is abusive to the woman or to mem-
682 bers of the family (two cases). The brother
627 figures not only as a lethal opponent, but also
593 as the man who avenges one's own death (case
18, Table 1). When someone has been killed
for witchcraft, his brothers are expected to ac-
cept the verdict or to avenge the
killing.

[Text continues on p. 463-A]

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965) 1967

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Teklum

[P.462-C]

682
593
674
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607

TABLE 2. SUSPECT, BY MOTIVE FOR HOMICIDE

| | | BROTHER | BROTHER-IN-LAW | SON | SON-IN-LAW | NEIGHBORS | RELATIVE OF WITCHCRAFT KILLING | CURERS | CATTLE OWNERS | RIVAL FOR GIRL | DRUNKS | NOT OF COMMUNITY | ?? | TOTALS |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| [683] | Victim was accused of witchcraft | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | — | — | — | — | 8 | 18 |
| | Victim accused suspect of witchcraft | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 1 |
| [585] | Cattle theft | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | — | — | 1 | 6 |
| [578] | Rivalry over girl | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 3 | — | — | — | 3 |
| | Abusive behavior | — | 2 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 |
| [579] | Drunken quarrel | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | — | — | 2 |
| [627] | Avenge a death (not caused by witchcraft) | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 | — | 2 |
| | Political conflict | — | 1 | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 1 |
| | ?? | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | — | 2 | 2 |
| | Total | 3 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 37 |

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 463-B] Teklum

682 694 75 these suspicions and kill the witch. If he should kill the witch while the patient is still alive, it is believed that the patient will die.

682 685 674 [463] [697] Killing men for cattle theft (six cases) is a relatively recent occurrence. It has put homicide on the market: the associations of cattle-owners have hired killers in three of the six cases. In addition to the killer's fee, they pay the fine to release him from prison. Fines for homicide have increased in the past five years—from 1,000 to 3,000 pesos—but not sufficiently to price the murder of cattle thieves out of the market. A good bull is worth [435] 1,500 pesos, and the threat of further loss by theft seems to justify the expenditure of fees and fines. When the cattle-owners lose some 685 787 776 of their herd, they go to spiritualists or to San Miguel, the talking saint of Ixtapa, to find out who did the stealing. Since such evidence does not hold up in court, legal settlement is not 685 694 attempted. Legal action, moreover, would create an enemy who might seek revenge. A Ladino secretary of the town center who had lost a bull accused a man of stealing his cattle and demanded 500 pesos in compensation. By receiving the money he jeopardized his safety, and eventually he had to leave town.

*The Resolution of the Case*

682 69 It is nearly impossible to find witnesses to homicide. Of these 37 cases, 28 resulted in no action being taken by the authorities, and in five cases where the killers went to jail, they were released with the payment of minimal fines. In the calculations of the townspeople, it is hardly worth risking one's neck to get such a minimal revenge.

682 593 626 [683] However, this does not mean that homicide goes unnoticed in the community. After a killing the widow sings of the life of the dead man. If she is in agreement with the verdict arrived at by the killer and others, she will deny knowledge of what he has done, or even suggest that she too was aware of what harm he has caused (one widow implied that her husband, killed as a witch, was responsible for the death of four of her six children). If she objects to the verdict, she sings of what a good man he was and how blameless. She will then air her own suspicions in the following weeks as to who killed her husband.

682 683 627 Following the funeral, when the women have left the cemetary, the men sit at the grave. As they measure out a liter of liquor and pass it around, they advance hypotheses as

423 In the most acculturated communities
592 (Aguacatenango and Amatenango) individ-
[184] ually held property is more general. The head of the house is the owner of the parcel and he can manage it as he pleases. Referring to Aguacatenango, B. Metzger (1960, p. 11) states that:

> In general, land is "owned"—that is, controlled—by the household; as long as the son lives with the father, he may speak of "his land," but in fact he works the land with his father, planting what and when his father de-
> [428] cides. The son who lives apart is usually given a piece of land by his father, and he acquires new land which he, in turn, will pass on to his sons at his death or, if he chooses, before.

[613] At this level the lineage concept has dis-
[593] appeared, and the only recognized connection is the father-son relationship.

423 Irrigated lands ("tierras irrigables"), however, in Aguacatenango and in Amatenango contain parcels belonging to private owners and parcels used in common, which are administered or given by the local authorities to be cultivated. Metzger (*ibid.*) informs us that: "Recently, land has been bought on the edges of the town by each of the two barrios for the exclusive use of their members, while in the irrigable area the holdings of members of the two barrios are separate and watered by separate canals."

[175] Ejido lands exist in almost all the region, distributed according to the Programa Agrario de la Revolución Mexicana since 1914 but in some communities not put into practice until after 1930. These lands are administered by the "comite ejidal" of each municipio, which gives to any individual who needs land the permission to cultivate it. These lands cannot be sold or transferred in any way, because they are considered common property.

421 Family land as well as the house and its
586 equipment belong to the man. When a marriage is dissolved, the woman goes back to her parents without taking anything but

[P 212-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Bachajón



out by a small group bearing a grudge, although in this case the tribe as a whole stands more solidly back of the offenders. 648

The Bachajon exhibit internal dissension and strife to an unusual degree. There are many small, outlying sub-groups, some of which are more or less openly at war with the main body. In the description of Zona Sala oil camp (Chapter VIII) something has already been said of the settlement there of men driven away on account of the misbehaviour. They still call themselves Bachajon and maintain some slight intercourse with the tribe, although they are quite inimical in their attitude towards Indians passing through on the way to Palenque. There are other such settlements in different parts of the jungle, although these, having most recently split off, are the most hostile. 628

What group loyalty the Bachajon have centers around the deserted village that bears their name. It was described at the beginning of this chapter. Founded under compulsion, deserted whenever possible, its church and Cabildo in ruins, none the less it is their focal point, jealously guarded from intrusion. These Indians have had the same experience as our own; the European comes first as a visitor, then a few settle for trade, then comes a host in their footsteps, until soon there is no place for the Indian, and he finds himself an intruder in his own home. Against this sequence of events, so common in our history, the Bachajon protect their land by an attitude of unremitting hostility. Travellers may pass through, but no trader may set up even a lean-to bower under which to display his wares, save during the few days of their main fiestas, although it would be a great convenience for them to have a store nearer than Ocosingo. 621 609

The destruction of the Spanish-built church and Cabildo, with the substitution for them of native edifices, is curious. The feeling probably is that when they do congregate in their capital for a fiesta, they do not wish to be confronted by evidences of alien domination. 829

The strongest actual unit is that of the individual family, the man, his wife, and children. Indians who are forced, for one reason or another, to go into hiding in the jungle, will run great risks to return and fetch their wives and children. Even beyond this smallest group there is a little feeling, a man's relatives by marriage or blood often joining to support him in a feud, or to revenge a wrong done him. Similarly, the relatives of the individual who committed the wrong are held in some degree liable to punishment, although there is no formal rule of collective responsibility, the action taken depending largely on individual inclination. 593 594 602 627 [672]

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TONC YU*N TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 627 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

273* exact a promise to reform. Drunken abuse of a wife is specifically proscribed in the counsel given to a young couple during the wedding ceremony:

[539]

HA*T KEREM, K'UXUTA ME AWINAM, MA ME AWUT, MA ME AMAH.

You, boy, esteem your wife, don't scold her, don't strike her.

ME LA *AWUC' POX, TOH ME XAK'AN AWE*EL, TOH ME XAK'AN AMAZ.

When you drink aguardiente, ask for your supper as one ought to, ask for your pozole as one ought to.

273* One wife's attitude toward her husband's aggressiveness when
539
593 drunk is characteristic of the Aguacatenango woman's view:

YU*NEN YIC'O BOLUBEL TA SOL HAL *IX *UTWAN NONC I, WAH.

Maybe he's crazy, since he fights so much! Ha, ha, ha!

TONC YA HZE*LU Z'IN.

Afterward he just laughs.

*AY TYOS, HESUCRISTO, *ABONIK TE*K PERTON, MA*K HNA*, *E XCI Z'IN.

"God, Jesus Christ! Forgive me, I don't remember what I did," he says afterward.

*Y HAYUN HIC MA KAK' TA MUK' Z'IN.

And so I don't pay any attention afterward.

*IP ME KIC' E, KIC' *ABI, *E XCEBAL K'AHAL, *E MA*K HNA*, *E XCI.

Sometimes he hits me, he hits me then, and two days later he says, "I don't remember."

*ATUKEL XANA* ME KAWAK' PERTONE MA* KAWAK' PERTONE.

"Only you know if you will forgive me or not."

273* 539 593 *E HIC PERE XK'AXAWON AWU*UN, YA KUT.

"I will pardon you, but I am ashamed of you," I tell him.

*E *AYIL MA*K HPASIS HONC *A, SLOT.

"It's all right, I won't do it again," he lies.

YU*N MALAME K'OPOHAN STUK TEME YU*N T'UXAH E.

It's that he doesn't like to hear talking when he's lying down drunk.

YU*N HUN TA *ALAL YU*N C'A*BAL YANE XWAY.

He's just like a baby, he only sleeps if it's quiet.

YAN STUK TEME YAKAT WULWUNEL E, YU*N HWINIK LA KAHMULA HATE XK'OPOHON SOK E.

If I make any noise he says I am talking with my lover.

*E YU*NEN *AY CAWAH TA SOL WAH.

Maybe he's crazy.

TONC YU*N XKUXLEH STUK *ILI.

That's just the way he is.

273* 593 The willingness of the average wife to forgive drunken abuse is an illustration of the fact that, in general, the behavior of an individual when he is drunk is subject to special interpretation by others. A drunken man is generally assumed not to be responsible for his actions; his unsocial behavior is likely to be disregarded. Speaking of a man who is accused of having given his brother a fatal illness by witchcraft because they had fought over an inheritance, Mariano Juarez and Juana Espinoza agree that it is unusual for fighting to have this result.

273* 578 that Mariano will keep this in mind in future transactions with this man--if he believes that Aurelia is telling the truth.

While a man's behavior when he is drunk is usually disregarded in forming character judgments, there are circumstances in which drunken behavior is seen as ambiguous. It is believed, for example, that foreign matter can be put into aguardiente by a member of the drinking group so as to cause the illness or death of one of the other participants. Examples of illness attributed to "poisoned" aguardiente will be offered in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to cite the belief as an indication that "true" aggression may sometimes be expressed when men are drunk. Other aspects of the ambiguity of drunken behavior are suggested in the following text fragment:

273* 578 539 593 F. KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHK E, PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL, *ORA *ILI, LA HKABETIK SLUM TE HKOHT SKAH HTEK"EN BETIK SNA....

Once I had seen that we had accumulated a little wealth, we gave a piece of land to my brother, we gave him a horse, we built him a house. . . .

HO*N YA STI*ON Z'IN HAL BAY NA *IL KUMPRE.

He comes around and bothers me in my house now, compadre.

... HA*Z'IN BA* STA TRAWI, BA* STA POX I, HA*TE XLEHK MOUK TA SOL *A.

. . . That's the way it is when one finds aguardiente, it goes to his head.

YAXC'IN YAL YA*KBIL CAMEL *EHUK, BUENO, HO*N MA* ZAMUK YA KA*Y *EHK HO*N ABI KUMPRE.

273* He begins to talk about witchcraft and I don't care for
578 that at all, compadre.
539
593 HAL TRAWI, HA* MA HNA*TIK TUT XKALTIK SOK, MA HNA*TIK TUT HLOK'ESTIK SOK, TONC YUN *AY SLUWAR *AY MA* SLUWARUK XK'OPOHOTIK *A.

Because of the aguardiente, we don't know what we are saying, we don't know how to speak, sometimes it's correct and sometimes it's not possible what we are saying.

M. PERE HA* TE YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK YUN TRAWO *A E.

But this only happens when the aguardiente goes to his head.

F. HAIX KEMPRE, YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK MA HNA* TUT XKALTIK PERES TA SKAH TRAWO, SKAH POX *EHK *ABI.

That's right, compadre, it goes to our head and we don't know what we are saying, but it's because of the aguardiente.

MAYUNUK KUXLULUK KO*TANTIK E.

It doesn't happen when we are sober.

BA LA HTATIK HUN KERMANOTIK HUN HBANKILTIK, Z'AHAL BANKIL, Z'AHAL TAT, HA* XCI XK'OPOHOTIK Z'IN ABI, KONTENTO XK'OPOHOTIK SOK MAC'A KAMICOTIK E.

When we are sober, when we encounter some brothers or uncles we say, "Good day, uncle, good day, sir," we talk contentedly with our friends.

PERO ME *OC Z'IN C'UL TRAWO, *E HUN *ORA HNA*TIK HUN *ORA MA HNA*TIK HA*YUN *AWA*Y TUL HIC.

But when aguardiente comes in, part of the time we remember and part of the time we don't remember.

MA* ZAMUK TA *UC'EL *EHK C'UL TRAWO HUN *ORA E.

In a way, it's not good to drink aguardiente.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

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In this text fragment, Felix is describing to Mariano how his older brother is threatening him over a matter of inheritance. Felix reports that his brother comes to his house and threatens witchcraft upon the family unless the matter is resolved in his favor. Mariano, in his only appearance in the text excerpt, inquires rather sharply if this does not happen only when the brother is drunk. Felix answers in the affirmative and sketches in his feeling about the ambiguity of the situation: (1) one may threaten while drunk, but the hearer does not know whether what the drunken speaker is saying is, from the speaker's point of view, a statement which is true of his sober condition as well or only of his drunken condition; (2) the ambiguity is further reinforced if, when the speaker is sober, he is properly respectful of the listener, whom he has insulted or threatened while drunk; (3) from the point of view of the drinker himself, one knows that he sometimes remembers his performances and sometimes does not remember them. An unremembered performance has the character of communicating less reliably to the receiver than a remembered performance. The receiver must note, then, that any particular drunken performance may be a member of the unremembered class and hence not entirely useful as a basis for inference and action in relating to the person who is performing it. This characteristic of drunken communication causes Felix to evaluate drinking negatively. It leaves him in doubt as to

273* what his "true" relationship with his older brother is.
598
[593] While in principal the intent of a communication sent by a drunken individual under the circumstances noted is subject to modification by him when next he is sober, there occur instances in which the drunken performance is critical in the definition of character. Any expression of hostility (scolding, fighting, stealing) when sober may bring the drunken behavior into focus as an expression of the individual's "true" character. In the case of the young man who "talks pure witchcraft when he is drunk" (mentioned earlier), the decision to make him leave the house was based also on the fact that he quarreled with members of the household and his wife stole chickens, and the decision was later justified, as we have just seen, by the fact that he threatened witchcraft when sober.

It may be the case that hostility or aggressive performances while drinking may be classified into two types as may be seen by the responses to them of other community members. If the basis for hostility can be found in specific antecedent events, then angry words or blows between individuals who are drunk or between a drunk person and a sober person are subject to later apology before any final conclusion is drawn as to the
[754] character of the aggressor. If, on the other hand, no specific antecedent events are known to be the source of the hostility, and the drunken performer's anger seems to be directed at random

273 578 our measures of it are crude, but will perhaps serve as a first approximation. A penalizing strategy, in contrast, remains "active" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties. The pure type of conflict bound by penalty is in fact an infinite series of conflicts operating on the pre-conflict role relationships of the parties so as to transform them, in the extreme case, into a relationship which must be terminated if either is to survive as a "social person." Under some circumstances, a penalizing strategy may call forth a counter-strategy of restitutive nature which breaks the chain before it becomes necessary to terminate interaction.

Among the restitutive strategies used to reduce the effects of drunken behavior is apology or restitution for the jeopardy on which the drunken aggression is based. Felix Perez tells how he has tried to stop his brother from threatening him while drunk:

273 578 573 539

> PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL I *ORA *ILI LA HK'ABETIK HKOT SLUM ESTE HKOT SKA, HKA SLUM, HTEK'EN BETIK SNA....
>
> Well then, we gave my elder brother his piece of land, his horse, his land, we built him a house. . . .
>
> HA* XTI*WAN HIL Z'IN YUN Z'IN TE XTI*WAN KUMPRE.
>
> He kept on bothering me, he kept on bothering me then, compadre.
>
> LA HTATLANOK TA CAMEL YUNTIKILE *E.
>
> His children were taken ill.

273* Z'IN *EHK HO*NE SESNTA SINKWENTA SIEN PESO KA*BE TUTIL XCOP
578 YUNTIKIL I, PE MA SNA* Z'IN HA* LA STI*ON YA*TIK BA*YON *IL,
593 KUMPRE.
539 I gave him sixty, fifty, a hundred pesos to cure his children, but he doesn't recognize that, he goes on bothering me here, compadre.

HA* XTI*WAH YUN MA I.

He bothers me about the house. (Felix, the youngest son, remained with his father and has been promised the house as his inheritance. His elder brother complains that the house should be his.)

... LIHK BENUK XAN KO*TAN Z'IN *E TU*UN *E LAH HCON HKOT C'IN CITAM Z'IN *E TU*UN *E *A KUMPRE *ILI.

I began to think again, and so then I sold a little pig, compadre.

*ABA XAN SIEN PESO XKUT Z'IN HTATIK TA HNA E, LEK'AY *ABI XCI.

"Give him another hundred pesos," I said, and then my father said, "All right."

KA*BE Z'IN YA*BE Z'IN STUKEL YUN Z'IN TE LA HKA*BETIK XAN Z'IN *ABI.

I gave it to him, he gave it to him, then we gave him more.

MA*SK'AN XAN NAXTAK *ABI STI*ON XAN NAXTAK YUN HNA *ILI.

He still didn't like it, he still kept on bothering me about the house.

273* 578 [593] The failure of all these measures to stop the brother's drunken threats has led the father to consider building a new house for Felix and giving the family house to the elder brother.

Another strategy is reprimand or punishment, where the jeopardized party has authority over the drunken offender or, alternatively, where the jeopardized party can appeal to such

273* 578 [539] an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWO*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* 593 692 [606] A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband reprimanded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* 683 In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the

273* 695 dependent on a most careful and detailed examination of the conditions under which the conflict was originally generated as they are concerned in reaching a decision which fairly expresses the variable jeopardy that each party could reasonably be held accountable for vis-à-vis the other party. In the circumstances that any of the three parties to the conflict are drunk, the case will be postponed, or if it is not postponed it will be considered void, to be retried or else appealed to another court.

273* 695 684 593 There are a few kinds of circumstances in which drinking during the course of conflict settlement is seen to be appropriate though optional to the parties concerned. The type of case is best exemplified by circumstances where a daughter, say, is known by her family to have been promiscuous previous to the trial, and where they are being called by the daughter's husband or suitor to account for their daughter's behavior. In such circumstances the parents of the girl will appear at court. During the trial, each of them will publicly whip the girl. In such a case, where a male parent is certain of his daughter's misbehavior, he may drink aguardiente so as to reduce his feelings of shame at having the affairs of his daughter made public, and, as a result having to whip her. The mother does not drink in these circumstances, the proscription on women drinking being so strong as to prevent her from indulging in this shame-reducing behavior.

[562]

273* concludes by observing that the after-effects of drinking are inevitably bad.

Thus while the drinking performances themselves are highly satisfying experiences, the consequences of drinking may be illness, economic loss, and possible death. Such consequences of any next drinking performance do not, however, appear to prevent that drinking performance from taking place; even though the consequences are the public knowledge of all the men in Aguacatenango.

273* 562 593 The woman's view of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking sequences is long-suffering (but not necessarily uncomplaining). Women are constrained to complain relatively little as their husbands become ill or abusive and their household resources dwindle. The woman who berates or strikes or abandons her drunken husband is criticized, and desertion of a husband by a wife is never attributed either to his drinking per se nor to his drunken abuse.

273 539 In the following excerpts from text, a wife complains and her husband belittles or laughs off her concern time after time.

I. MA* LO*ILUK IX A X YAKUB HONC *A ATATAI, *E YES YA*TEL.
Your uncle gets drunk a lot, it's his occupation.

V. HE HE HE.
Ha, Ha, ha!

273* these performances. Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances involve the careful pacing of drinking so that every member of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking group is in an equivalent state of drunkenness (insofar as this can be controlled by controlling the distribution of aguardiente). When members of such a group relate to people who are outside it--who have not been drinking--the probability of hostility and violence increases. Women are warned that their husbands, as a result of having participated in a ceremonial drinking performance, will be more "temperamental" in interaction; will be more likely to curse them and strike them for any minor irritation. Proper, relaxed, behavior is possible between individuals who are fellow ceremonial drinking or informal drinking members, or between individuals who are sober, but are more difficult to express between individuals one of whom is drunk and the other of whom is sober.

Ceremonial drinking-informal drinking performances result in side effects which participants would prefer not to accept as the basis for further inference and action. Blows or harsh words, that might be exchanged if these were used to define the quality of interpersonal relations, would exclude other possible transactions such as loaning money or goods, asking favors for curing, exchanging labor and so on. Under such circumstances in Aguacatenango, there is developed a "theory" of

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



was in a low gully where crops would not grow, and no one within the community would buy it.

Land is frequently pawned by farmers as security on a loan. The title to the land is left with the lender, who can foreclose on the debt if the interest payments of five percent per month are not paid. Often the land pawned may be worth far more than the loan. Loans in town are rarely backed with security, and if something is pawned, it is usually clothing or household items.

With the growing significance of ejido lands and land sale, inheritance of land is of less importance in the economic expectations of each successive generation. The rules controlling inheritance are theoretically simple: equal inheritance for all children regardless of sex. The parents usually give some land when the child establishes a separate household; the remainder is then given at the death of the parent or when old age makes it impossible for the parent to work any more. The youngest child remaining at home works his father's land, or if he is living with his wife's family, his father-in-law's land, until the latter's death. His family inherits the house site as well as an equal share of the privately held lands. Complications arise because of modifications of the basic rule of equal inheritance by provisions for care and maintenance of the aged parents. Frequent disputes over inheritance are settled in local courts or passed on to the Department of Indian Affairs in San Cristóbal.

The selection of which crop to grow is related to the kind and amount of land a farmer owns. The most important crops are corn, beans, and wheat. Some squash and sugarcane are grown in the lower ejido lands of San Caralampio. Cabbage is grown by one Indian who possesses fertile irrigated lands in the center. Most Indians, however, are unwilling to undertake the risk of raising a cash crop since there is greater chance of the crop being stolen and they cannot afford a bad market price when they harvest.

Relating the size of holding to the crop grown, according to figures in the Mexican census of 1960[3] (Table 4) one can see that in privately

3. The census figures are based on estimates received from town officials, who submit them monthly to the census bureau. The officials of the town question the household heads as they see them in the streets or in their houses about how much seed they planted. They then estimate what the yield per almud for good and bad land is, from their own crops.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



bly similar in texture, design, and form to the pottery made now. Just as a man defines himself as an agriculturalist, a woman defines herself as a potter. Men complain if their wives do not produce pottery, and I know of two cases of separation on the grounds that the woman was not fulfilling one of her functions as housewife by helping the family budget with pottery production. Most women like to make pottery: it helps them to pass the day, and they say they would be bored without it. Some of the women who have gone with their husbands for extended stays in hot country have tried to make pottery out of clays available there, but because of its inferior quality, they have not had much success. Unlike women of neighboring towns, the women of Tzo'ontahal usually do not accompany their husbands to the fincas "because they have their work at home."

*Making pottery.* The women make a wide variety of household and ceremonial objects, but the item which has the widest market distribution is the water storage jar (See Plate 7). They introduce new items in response to local needs, such as the funnel used in channeling liquor into large containers from the retort of the still. One vessel which is disappearing from production is the large ceremonial cooking pot. The only woman who knew how to do this (or who admitted to knowing, since it is unpaid work) died in the 60s, and no one has replaced her. One woman who had a reputation for eccentricity, introduced several elaborate vases and ashtrays. Her creative imagination was best exemplified in a combined ashtray and vase which featured four frogs poised on the lip of the tray, presumably drinking from a fountain. Reina (1962–1963) has pointed out that women of the Guatemalan community of Chinautla who wish to be accepted in the community must limit themselves to conventional forms, and the same restriction seems to apply in Tzo'ontahal.

The women of a household work as a group in collecting clay and in firing pottery. Clay is free since it is found in the communally owned hills on the perimeter of the town. It is collected preferably during the rainy season when it is easier to gather from the open gorges in which it is found, but if the supply runs out, other trips are made. All of the women of the household go, sometimes with neighbors or relatives in groups of five or six. They collect large clay balls weighing from forty to fifty pounds which they carry in a net bag on their backs with a tumpline.

(see plates following p.198..Analyst)

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



perienced potter in the household, sometimes with the help of a trainee. Older women prefer doing the lighter tasks, such as putting on the handles and mouth or applying the slip of watered clay, to raising the sides which requires greater force and exertion of the back muscles. A second basis for the division of labor is the kind of item produced: older women for example, make bowls in preference to large water jugs and containers.

*Learning to make pottery.* A girl begins to make pottery about the age of eleven. First she makes small replicas of the articles her mother produces. Then, under her mother's direction, she learns to prepare the clay. The mother feels the clay with her fingers, telling her daughter to add more sand if this is lacking. She is taught to knead the clay three times. In making the pot, the most difficult phases are mixing the clay, forming the base, and rounding out the walls of the vessel as it is raised. The child is expected to learn slowly and is encouraged gently to improve each step. While the child works on her first pot, the mother makes a similar one; three or four times they exchange vessels, and the mother shapes her daughter's pot into a better form.

About two generations ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Since most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age, pottery was taught to the bride by her mother-in-law if she resided in her husband's house (Blom and La Farge 1927). Most marriages now are contracted for girls from fourteen to seventeen years of age. By this time they are already proficient potters and accustomed to working with their mothers. Therefore there is greater stress on their remaining in or near the parental home after marriage.

The pottery is fired in the streets of the town outside the house, usually after the women have made four or five dozen items. The pots are set on planks forming a rough square around the fire in the center. Charcoal is added to the fire as the brush or corn husks set between the pots begin to burn. The women tend the pots, turning them every five minutes until the surface is well dried and hardened. Wood is added to the fire, and then the jugs are stacked in a pyramid, each one protected from the one it touches with a broken piece of pottery. The stacking is crucial to permit even firing and must be done carefully so that none are broken. Once the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle
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tional economy and polity at a more rapid pace than has ever occurred in the past. Typical of this new movement is the recently established ejido of Brindis, formed by a core of landless Indians from the town working with acculturated Indians from Teopisca. Whether the political unity which has developed in the course of establishing their claim to the land will continue to provide a base for community development will depend on the encouragement and support by national institutions.

Within Indian communities of highland Chiapas, the ejido program has weakened age-authority principles in the family and in the civil hierarchy (Day n.d., Edel n.d.). Sons are no longer primarily dependent on their fathers for acquiring economic independence. Ejido Commission leaders have broken the monopoly of power by a gerontocracy of principales. Outside of the community, however, the political and economic potential of the ejido has not yet been fully realized. As the new ejidos such as Brindis develop, they may break the old community boundaries that contained and limited the power of the ejidatarios. With rising literacy, many Indians now read the *Codigo Agraria* sold in neighboring markets, and they are increasingly conscious of their rights. If unity across township boundaries could be achieved, the new ejidos might become an effective political force in regional and national spheres.

## Wage Labor and Occupational Specialties

The agriculturalists of the community do work as both exchange and paid laborers in the following forms: reciprocal exchange, part time labor and part-time independent agricultural work, and forestry.[1] Wage work is considered only a supplement to independent self-employment for all but twenty agricultural employees who work full-time on a finca within the township.

Payments for agricultural labor within the community are lower than the prevailing rate outside of the town and are higher in the fincas of hot country than in the highlands. When men work on the fincas of landowners in the neighboring township, they prefer payment by the task (*tarea*) rather than by the day, since they can usually complete two tareas by

1. See Richard N. Adams (1964:48) for a discussion of the forms of rural labor.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



The me?iltatil is the core institution preserving cultural continuity in the community. The exercise of authority and social control depended on a system of checks and balances in which the ancestors watched over the community, the judges watched over the curers to see that they did not abuse their power, and the curers watched over their side of the dual division to see that no witches or evil spirits caused harm. The validation of power is based on the kinship model of age-authority. The recruitment and functions of each of the three manifestations of this ancestral authority will be discussed in the following chapters on life crisis rituals, curing, and civil government.

## The Household and Family

The household unit is a crystallization at a given point in time of consanguineously and affinally related people within a wider kinship matrix. It is the most important structural unit providing for economic cooperation, socialization of the young, and care and sustenance of the aged. It provides the setting and the personnel for the transmission of traditional prayers and ritual procedures of the civil and religious hierarchy. The composition of the unit is constantly changing due to internal changes in the life cycles of its members as well as changes in the wider kinship matrix. The decisions made in response to these changes reveal both traditionally established adjustments to life crises and adaptations to social changes originating outside the family. The kinds of choices made in residence after marriage as well as in inheritance and succession to leadership in the household do not always conform to the cultural formulae for handling them. The exigencies of space, time, economic, and social considerations may outweigh the ideological considerations of what ought to be done.

The formula for the developmental cycle of the household is the following: when a man marries, he lives with his bride's family for one year, working in her father's fields. He then returns to his father's household to live and work with him until his father is too old to manage the work in the field. The father then gives equal shares of his land and animals to each of his children, both male and female. The youngest child, or the last one to get married, remains in the parental house, taking care of the aged

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



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593 parents. This role is institutionalized and the youngest child is referred to
[192] as *k'oš*, the last one.

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182 The choice of residence after marriage is influenced by the following factors:

1. The couple live with whatever family has less pressure from immature siblings remaining in the household. If there is no other child in one family, there is a strong likelihood that the new family will remain in that household.

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434 2. If there is any wealth difference, the couple tends to live with the richer family. "Wealthy" families prefer to have their children live near them and will make an effort to build a house within their compound or nearby.

Table 15. Trends in Household Composition, 1958–1964

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| | *Alannantik* | | *Ahk'olnantik* | | *Total* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Family type* | *No. of families* | *Percent of total families* | *No. of families* | *Percent of total families* | *No. of families* | *Percent of total families* |
| Remained the same | | | | | | |
| Nuclear | 49 | 76 | 38 | 57 | 87 | 67 |
| Virilocal | 7 | 11 | 11 | 16 | 18 | 14 |
| Uxorilocal | 4 | 6 | 7 | 11 | 11 | 9 |
| Joint sib | 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| Grandparent-grandchild | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 2 |
| Incomplete | 2 | 3 | 7 | 11 | 9 | 7 |
| Total | 64 | 100 | 66 | 100 | 130 | 100 |
| Percent of all families | | 44 | | 34 | | 39 |
| New families created | | | | | | |
| Nuclear | 16 | 89 | 48 | 88 | 64 | 88 |
| Uxorilocal | 1 | 5.5 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| Incomplete | 1 | 5.5 | 6 | 10 | 7 | 9 |
| Total | 18 | 100 | 55 | 100 | 73 | 100 |
| Percent of all families | | 12 | | 28 | | 21 |
| Families which changed * | 64 | 44 | 74 | 38 | 138 | 40 |
| Total number of families | 146 | 100 | 195 | 100 | 341 | 100 |

* Direction of change indicated in Table 16.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



## Behavior Defined in the Family

Socialization in the family provides the individual with the idiom for behaving in the wider community. The basic principles ordering behavior are respect and obedience toward those who are older, and care for those who are younger. Obedience, expressed by the verb *č'un* which means both to believe (or to be gullible) and to obey, is instilled by cultivating a sense of fear and shame. Fear is communicated by the parent to the child by invoking evil spirits and by the threat or use of punishment, especially whipping with a leather strap. Shame is aroused by ridicule, jeering, and chastising. A good child is a quiet child; questioning is discouraged either by refusing to answer the child or by telling him to keep quiet. The negative aspect of good behavior is stressed. Significantly, the phrase "Behave yourself!" is translated into Spanish as "Don't do anything!" Good behavior is not rewarded either by praise or by gifts. The only public demonstration of affection toward children I have seen is by grandparents toward grandchildren: an elder might give his sweet roll at a ceremony to his grandchild and even fondle him. Parents show affection to youngsters under three years of age, although the last child may be coddled somewhat longer. Mothers and young children show intimacy and affection in delousing each other or combing each others' hair. Kissing is not a sign of intimacy but of formal respect in ceremonies.

Beliefs concerning conception show awareness of both the male and the female contribution to the fetus. The man's sperm (*snal*) enters the womb, *yoʔtan,* (also the word for heart) and mixes with the woman's flow, to bring about conception. The blood of a child is believed to come from its mother and the skin, bones, and brains from the father. During pregnancy, the father must have intercourse with his wife because his sperm nourishes the fetus. This continues right up to the birth of the child. Men too are believed to have wombs, and some men have trouble with "dropped wombs" caused by lifting heavy burdens.

The only people in attendance at the birth of a child are the women of the immediate household, the mother of the woman giving birth if she is not a part of the houshold, and the midwife. Children are kept out of the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



The relationship of respect and obedience between parents and children is expected to last throughout life. When a boy reaches the age of eighteen, his parents are expected to provide him with a wife. Wealthier families tend to fulfill this obligation at an earlier age than do poorer families, in which the boy may have to work in the fincas or in the sawmills to acquire the money for his own marriage.

Instruction in sexual behavior and reproduction is not characterized by continuity, as is instruction about work tasks. Children are given no information about sex prior to marriage, and girls remain entirely innocent. They may be pregnant several months before they are aware of what is happening. The complete sexual segregation in work tasks and play during adolescence makes the relationship between sexes strained.

Even after marriage, the parents are concerned with maintaining their child's marital situation, or, if they judge their child's spouse to be incorrigible, to help him get rid of his partner. In the case of women, in particular, parents continue to provide a refuge in case a daughter's husband should die, be sent to prison, or prove incompatible. Parents usually accompany their children if they are called into court, and failure to attend is tantamount to admitting the guilt of the child.

In successful marriages, the parents-in-law are equivalent to parents and are called "mother" and "father." The parents of both spouses attend the life crisis ceremonies of their children and grandchildren. Grandparents provide support and care for grandchildren if their parents should die or remarry.

When parents reach the age of about sixty-five, they are no longer expected to work actively. A man will then distribute all of his land and animals among his children. He will expect to be taken care of by all of his children, but special responsibility falls on the youngest who will inherit the house. Sometimes aged parents move from one of their children's houses to another, spending a few months or years with each. Children are expected to pay for any curing ceremonies necessary in their parents' old age and to provide a good funeral appropriate to their wealth. Failure to do this incurs loss of respect with the neighbors and collateral relatives of the deceased. If the parents die after they have distributed their possessions, the crisis following the death is minimal. At the funeral, mature children of a deceased parent exhibit to the community their filial respect.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



602 476 626 Kinship is one of several bases for recruiting reciprocal or cooperative labor. Table 19 compares kinship with nonkinship-defined work groups in terms of the kinds of exchanges, the type of work done, the time span permitted for reciprocity, and the sanctions against failure to reciprocate.

TABLE 19. Labor Exchanges of Kinship- and Nonkinship-Defined Groups

| *Conditions* | *Within household* | *Beyond household, within community* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | *With kin (ritual, compadre, affinal and consanguineal)* | *With nonkin* |
| Interchange | "Cooperation"—reciprocity based on implicit understandings | Reciprocity—explicit, defined by traditional expectations | Reciprocity—explicit, often defined by contract as well as tradition |
| Sanctions | Authority of elder member, male in men's work group, female in women's work group | Authority of elders of bilaterally-extended kin group; Recourse to cabildo if no strong elder | Informal—fear of gossip of neighbors; formal—reliance on local judges and president or recourse to district courts |
| Time Span | Extended, indefinite | Extended, usually some defined limit on repeated tasks (harvest); no limit for non-repeated tasks (house-building) | Immediate return expected, or explicitly stated time allowance |
| Kind of Task | Pottery-making, milpa agriculture, care of cattle, preparation of food | Ploughing, cultivating, harvesting, firing pottery, housebuilding | Same. |

593 476 423 621 [606] Fathers and sons, or sons-in-laws may work together on family-owned property. Because all men can acquire ejido land after marriage, and since 47 percent of the households claim to have only this land, the cooperative tie between fathers and sons is not based on inheritance. If they work well together, they may continue to cooperate after the son has become independent. Father and sons, brothers and brothers-in-law are expected to cooperate with each other in building a house, rethatching a roof, and threshing wheat. In the case of house-building or maintenance, they must pay for a substitute if they are unable to fulfill the obligation.

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



Compadres, or ritual kin, are the next most important pool from which to draw assistance. The same restrictions on exchanges between actual kin apply to those between ritual kin. The one task which is confined to brothers and not extended to compadres is that of house-building.

Relationships between members of the household are defined by daily work tasks, commensality, sharing a living space, and participation in the same ceremonial events. The same rules which govern behavior in the family are extended to the wider community. The extension of the terms elder brother and elder sister, father and mother, and younger sibling to all of the people in one's own side of the dual division implies a pattern of behavior similar to that of the family. The fundamental equation in social relations is age-respect-deference-prestige.

The bilaterally extended kinship group provides the pattern structuring relations throughout the community. It is a framework allowing wide choice in selecting individuals with whom ceremonial and work relations are contracted. Relative age has superseded generation and descent as the principle governing relationships of authority and respect from the nuclear family to the hierarchy or community officials. These patterns will be traced in other institutions in following chapters.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



852 608 571 788 The church ceremony is followed by another ceremony in the house of the child's parents. As the group returning from the church enters the house, they are greeted with the pat'o'tan by the maliwanehetik who are waiting for them in the house. As they enter, each of the returning party says, "You go forward, kumpare." They embrace all of the waiting party, an act which establishes their relationship as compadres with the entire company. When the padrinos leave, the grandparents and parents of the child go to a spot before the eaves outside the house; there the father of the child serves liquor to the padrinos and the grandparents of the child. The drink is called "the finale as the compadres leave." The group must finish the entire liter "since it is a gift," and if there are only one or two grandparents, they may get fairly drunk. As the compadres leave, the grandpaernts say, "Over the soil, over the mud where you take your holy godchild, your holy flower, your holy candle." The child, referred to metaphorically as holy flower, holy candle, is identified with the most sacred symbols of the culture.[2]

[273] [593] [603] [778]

608 571 171 The emphasis on the group relationship in Tzo'ontahal contrasts with the form of compadrazgo found in the central plateau of Mexico where the dyadic tie between two compadres provides flexibility in achieving instrumental ends in political or economic life.[3] Some of the new leaders in economic enterprises are beginning to emphasize the dyadic contract in their compadrazgo relationships to achieve political support, but its greatest importance is still based on creating or reinforcing group solidarity.

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## Betrothal and Marriage

584 585 The Indians of Tzo'ontahal are initiated into the community of the living and depart from it with ceremonies deriving from the Spanish colonial culture. The courtship and marriage ceremonies continue indigenous re-

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[852] [571] [608] she later attended the household ceremony, she was never called kumare because of the omission of this act.

2. See Laughlin (1962) on the symbolism of the candle and flower in Zinacantan.

[171] 3. In regard to the occasions and the kind of respect relation established, compadrazgo in Tzo'ontahal is similar to the institution in other parts of Mexico (Foster 1963, Nader 1964, Wolf and Mintz 1950). The difference lies in the elaboration of the number of ties acquired through compadrazgo at each event.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



The links between members of the me?iltatil of a couple united in marriage are reinforced if another marriage occurs between the two households. While this does not provide a basis for prescribed or preferred mating, those who have such exchanges say they prefer it because the negotiations in the č'om proceed more amicably, especially in the earlier stage.

Solidarity of the group is reinforced when the me?iltatil are called upon to help settle conflicts that arise in the marriage. The household review of marital conflict requires a formal gathering of all the members of the betrothal party who represented both the husband and the wife. Parents of the couple state the evidence and recite the events which led up to the conflict. The husband or wife may interject, speaking in their own defense. The elders suggest how the person judged guilty (usually the man) ought to behave and what his reponsibilities are. A transcription of one such case is included in Appendix 1A. This concerns a couple who had separated two years after the marriage. The following statement of the padrino of the wedding ceremony, speaking in lieu of the leader of the č'om who could not be present, shows the techniques they use to adjust relations:

*Now he [the husband] wants to change for the better. You [speaking to the husband] ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

A successful outcome depends on all people in the dispute accepting the judgment of the elders. If this cannot be achieved, the abused partner seeks redress in the courts. Women are most frequently the plaintiffs. The plaintiff is supported by her parents who appear with her in court and help argue her case. The defendant may appear with his parents, if they support him, but very often they feel shame and do not.

In court cases, two judges hear the evidence and they, along with the president and other civil officials deliver the verdict. The quality of interpersonal relations does not differ much from that which one finds in the household review, as can be seen in comparing the court review included in Appendix 1B with the household review. In the former case, the woman's wrath had been aroused by her husband occasionally returning to his first wife, and by his failure to give her money for expenses. Since he

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



593 578 608 571 692 worked in the sawmill, he was not as willing to hand over his wages to his wife as is the farmer, who according to established custom gives the proceeds from the sale of his crop to his wife. The judges advise the man to stay sober, adding, "If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight." They entreat the wife to return to her husband's house "and make a fire there." They refuse to release the marriage license, and the woman's father reluctantly agrees. He has the last word, warning the husband: "The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say, 'I don't want you; go back to your mother's house.' You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife, life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting whether drunk or sober. Both my compadres [referring to the judges] have advised you."

755 608 571 578 182 The curing ceremony as a means of adjusting interpersonal conflict is discussed at greater length in the following chapter. Padrinos of baptism, compadres, and other members of the patient's me?iltatil attend, both to see that the curer is performing his duties properly and to lend spiritual support. Like the household and court review of conflict, it permits the open airing of grievances and relies on the authority of elders. Drinking [273] liquor is a means of restoring good feelings, either as a follow-up to the review of court cases or as a continuous measure of goodwill in curing.

182 571 608 578 The responsibility of the me?iltatil for repairing personal relationships in the family underwrites the importance of this institution in the community. In these institutionalized means of settling conflict the society recognizes the inevitability of friction in intimate relations and draws upon the resources of personnel and techniques developed in the life crisis rituals.

182 156 608 571 The me?iltatil are the guardians of individuals. The security that they provide depends upon the individual conforming to the group norms. They are a personal-reference group maintaining customary ways of behaving. I shall show in the following chapters how they are linked as the inner core to a system of guardianship provided by curers within each side of the dual division and by civil authorities at the community-wide level.

182 608 571 These are the agents who, by providing models of how the progenitors behaved and by channeling responses to social change, maintain the sense of equilibrium and the illusion of changelessness. The sense of continuity

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



The sense of continuity with the past is preserved in the ceremonials in which these officials act, but nonceremonial activities no longer reinforce the values symbolized in ritual.

## Death and Burial

When a person dies, his soul is believed to go out from his tongue. The family is responsible for finding a resting place which will be satisfactory to the soul. If the dead person has died of a "good" (not caused by witchcraft) illness, the soul lingers for eight days and then goes to heaven. If the dead person has been killed, his soul stays in the village for "a month or twenty days." The reason given for this is that "the gods did not choose the hour of death, and the soul doesn't know where to go." During this waiting period the dead person "finishes his heart," or ends his emotional ties with friends and relatives.

Following the death, a sister of the parents of a child or some other adult woman washes the body and puts a wrap over it. The body is always laid out with the feet toward the door; the eyes are shut, and the jaw is wrapped with a kerchief to hold the mouth closed. Two candles are placed at the head and two at the feet. Flowers and a bowl to collect offerings of 2 pesos from each visitor are placed at the head of the body. The contribution given at the burial assures the giver of a hearing with Christ:

*Everyone gives a contribution of 50 cents or a peso. Each one considers how much he can give and gives it. God listens to and speaks to those who give gifts. Those who give a candle or a little contribution of corn or flowers give an account of the dead man's life. If he had no crime on his conscience or only one crime, whoever killed him by violence or by witchcraft bears the guilt. Christ listens to the account of those who have given good contributions. Thus the help is given so that Christ will see that he did a favor to one who is poor and who has nothing to bury himself, not corn, or money, or anything to sell, not land, or cattle, or wheat. Therefore everyone who is a relative or a compadre or a neighbor brings one-fourth [bottle of liquor], a half measure of brown sugar, fifteen or twenty corncobs and one or two candles. And all men who arrive at the grave and*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



might be. The father or closest male kin of the dead person is careful to recount all the consultations he has had with curers, both to absolve himself of the guilt of neglect or unconscious witchcraft and to search for the true culprit.

A proper burial with holy water, flowers, grave offerings, and prayers assures the survivors that the soul of the deceased will rest and his bones will lie in peace. Lacking any of these features, the dead will disturb the living, as is recounted below:

*During the revolution, many were buried without a funeral or without blessed water. On Thursday, the bones burn and cry. You can still see a blue flame rising above the old graveyard on Thursday. You can find money that the ancestors left there, but you have to go at night to dig it up.*

An important safeguard to ensure that the soul will lie in peace is burial among people with whom the deceased lived. When a married adult dies, he is buried with his dead spouse. If he had two dead spouses, he is buried with the first spouse on the right hand and the second on the left. A child is buried with the grandparents of the household in which he lived—that is, if he lived with his mother's parents he is buried with them, and if with the father's parents, then with them. When people know that they are going to die, they express their preference as to where they wish to be buried. Usually they will elect to be buried between their dead parents, but if they were unhappy with their parents, they might choose a padrino or uncle. If dissatisfied in its resting place, a soul, even when properly buried, cannot find peace and wanders back to the house. Fearing this, relatives try to comply with the wishes of the dead.

*My grandfather used to say that he wanted to be buried between his mother and father. But when he was about to die, he said, "I don't want to be buried there because my father beat me. He will continue beating my soul. I want to go on the side [of the cemetery]. Please don't bury me near my parents." My father said, "All right, we will put you on the side."*

The funeral must meet the expectations of the community as well as those of the deceased and his relatives. The mature children of a man who

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



dies are expected to give a funeral appropriate to his station in life and his wealth, as is expressed in the following account:

*When my father got sick, he told his wife not to put him in a black box. He had heard a story that when the dead man is in a black box, his spirit cannot see. He wanted to be in a white box. He told this to his brother. But his brother wanted to get a black box. He bought one black box for three hundred pesos when my father died, because it is the custom of the pueblo to bury adults in a black box. The people would talk if we did not buy a good box because they knew he had animals. We spent six hundred pesos for the funeral. We presented the body in church for a mass. We had a singing mass for thirty pesos, and the box cost three hundred pesos. We had a common meal of beef in the house, and we spent two hundred and sixteen pesos for three garrafones of liquor. Each of his sons contributed sixty pesos for that. If we hadn't given him a good funeral, people would have said, "His children are very lax not to buy a good box to bury their father."*

*The padre says that all bodies should be presented in the church. He says if you don't have money, you don't have to pay for the mass. But we are ashamed if we don't pay because he does work for us. He charged only twenty-five pesos because he said my father worked hard for the town. We took a collection from all the people who were there, and it amounted to one hundred and thirty pesos. We paid the padre for the mass and gave a contribution. All the people in whose houses he had passed when he was alive came to see him. They said, "Ah, his children gave a very nice box for their father."*

*If all of the family is poor, no one talks if the funeral is not a good one. But if there is anything that can be sold, it will have to be to make a good funeral. When my father died, he had eighteen horses. We had to sell one, and each of the children gave one hundred pesos.*

Some say the souls play the harp and drink liquor when they arrive in heaven. On All Soul's Day they visit the village where they had lived and where they are known. For each member of the household who had died, a specific portion of food is laid out. Special likes are catered to: a bottle of liquor will be set on the table for a deceased father, soda pop for children

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



*they will go to the church wedding. The parents of the couple embrace the godparents. They go dance in the house.*

The paranoic fantasies of this young curer, a man in his early thirties, characterize the world of fears, both real and demonic, which the curers sometimes manipulate and by which they are sometimes victimized. The young curers in their thirties and forties tend to have more domestic disputes than most men in town. Emilio, a man in his forties who has been trying to assert his stature as leading curer of Alannantik since his predecessor was killed for witchcraft, was deserted by his wife. She fled to a neighbor's house. In a drunken rage, he tried to burn it to the ground. When his attempt failed, he threatened to bring "heat" from the Cave of the Star to cause an epidemic after which, he said, he would "eat the souls of the children by the dozen." In the line of duty, curers are often required to get drunk, and drunkenness loosens the cautions which control behavior. Gloating in the power of their swayoheles, there seems to be no limit to the threats or acts they commit. While drinking has probably always been part of curing ceremonies, the behavior noted in the cases described seems to be a response to the growing insecurity on the part of the curers about their status.

The curer reveals in his speech and acts the motivation of power. In Tzo?ontahal, power means freedom from one's own fears as well as from the human and supernatural sanctions imposed on those who ignore the norms governing behavior. The proof of his power lies in the ability to inspire fear in others. For this reason, the curer brags of the evil deeds he has committed or is capable of doing, even though this may bring about his own destruction.

## Curing Behavior

In their role as "doctors" for the individual patient, curers are referred to as *?u?ul* and are addressed with the honorific title *tatín*. Despite the declining belief in their guardianship function, there has been a retention of belief in their power to overcome witchcraft. Only the curer, because he possesses a swayohel, can deal with illness caused by witchcraft. Even if

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



Sometimes a colicky baby may become the focus of a curing ceremony designed to "cure" the conflict between husband and wife. In one case, the parents of a healthy young wife separated from her husband staged a curing ceremony to dramatize her marital plight to the in-laws.

The breakdown of the curing hierarchy and the recruitment procedures which were maintained by the elder leaders (see Chapter 10) has led to a reevaluation of the role of the curers in the community. They have lost their position as me'iltatil representing the ancestors who guard over the community. Curers are increasingly being accused of sorcery, and over ten of them have been killed in the past decade as witches (Nash, J. 1967). Paradoxically, it is the belief in their evil power which leads to their persisting role in the society. Clients feel that the more evil the curer is, the more able he is to combat evil. In a community dominated by belief in witchcraft, they are both feared and valued for their ability to control it. From a position as arbiters of morality, they have become the chief targets as deviants from the moral code. Despite the loss of confidence in curers as guardians, they are still called upon to fight the evil of witchcraft, and nearly every day a ritual is performed. The regimen of the curing ritual has not been upset by the undermining of the curers' position. Tied to a diagnostic system emphasizing the state of the patient's social relations, the same procedures are carried out even when modern medicines are used.

In curing practices, the Indian sees himself as the key figure in the drama of his own self-victimization. His illnesses come from within his own world, usually from within his family or close neighborhood. They are a mark of guilt for having excited the envy or hatred of associates. While the Indian is often portrayed in the role of passive victim to outside domination, in his own self-projection he sees himself dominated by powers within the community. Greater participation and equality in the wider society may in the future release him from these fear-provoking figures in his own environment.

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



159
212
621 *We shall go with your child, your offspring to pass the holy day, the holy year. Thank you, thanks to your heart that you permit your child, your offspring to go. Now we go to receive the holy post with all the elders. The spirit of your child, your offspring shall learn."*

*When the fourth regidor finished the pat?o?tan, my mother spoke: "Thank you, Take care of him. I do not want him to return to me drunk. He hasn't yet learned to drink."*

*I went out with two of the regidores on my right side and the other two on the left. When we arrived, the first judge spoke to us in the pat?o?tan: "You have brought before us our writer. It is well that you arrived with him. Enter and sit down."*

*I sat down in the middle of the regidores. When we sat down, the first judge and the president began to speak. All were gathered in the town hall.* [*Ceferino then listed all the civil officials by name, a feat of memory which I shall not repeat here.*]

[273] *We sat down and they brought in two liters of trago. They began the pat?o?tan, and after the pat?o?tan the third regidor came to measure the trago. He gave the first measure to the president, the second to the first judge, the third to the second judge, the fourth to me, the writer. And I was not accustomed much to drink liquor. I took the trago and I drank it. It was killing me. It came out my nose. The judges and regidores saw my suffering when it came out my nose. They patted my back, and with some difficulty the trago went down. Thus with suffering and with trouble, I learned to drink trago. But then I got drunk. I felt drunk, and I told the judge and regidores that I was going to die. The first judge ordered the regidor to go with me to my house.*

*He said, "Go leave him in his house because his mother said that I should return him to his house. See that you hand over her poor son to his mother."*

• [593] *Since I did not have a wife—I was a bachelor—they gave me to my mother. My mother said, "Thank you." They ordered my mother to send me the next day because we had to see how another day passed.*

*When I left in 1925, I didn't return to the town hall until 1936 when the pueblo asked me to stay as president.*

made in speaking of toddlers: boys are called *htatil* and girls *kantzil*. After five years of age, a boy is referred to as *č'in kerem*, "little boy" and a girl as *č'in ?ačiš*, "little girl." The term for younger sibling, *kihtz'in*, which is extended to all of the people younger than oneself on one's own side of the dual division, is not sex marked, but the terms for all people older than oneself are. Sexual segregation begins at the age of five in sleeping arrangements as well as in public gatherings, when little boys stand with their fathers. The modifier "č'in" is dropped after the age of nine, and the terms "kerem" and "ačiš" are used until marriage. At the age of fifteen, a girl is referred to as *?antz wištal*, "just arriving at womanhood," and when she is married she is classified as an *?antz*, or woman. A boy is referred to as a kerem until he is married, when he is called *ač' winik* or "new man." A woman with children is referred to as *me?eliš*, and is a full-fledged member of her sex, the *me?il*. A man's reference term does not change with paternity. When a young unmarried man dies, people say with sorrow that it was a pity "he did not try out life," and that "he did not try out a woman."

In her youth a woman's role is tied to the reproductive cycle, but after menopause she is released from the restrictions of childbearing women. She need not appear as modest in public, and can drink and dance at fiestas. A noticeable personality change can be seen as women move out of the chrysalis of their reproductive cycle. Some older women begin to take a keen interest in sex, and widows in particular may have sexual relations with young unmarried men. It is after menopause that a woman takes her first role in ceremonials as a woman speaker.

In the man's life cycle, leadership roles are related to age. Paternal roles are the prototype for both familial and public authority positions. Thus the term for father, *tat* is the stem for the term for leader, *statal*.

In the relationship between the sexes, women are considered to be under the control of a male protector, either their father or husband. However, there is a kind of equality between the sexes which is not found in Ladino society. Usually there is only a small age difference between husband and wife, even in second marriages, and parents resist giving a young unmarried girl to an older previously married man. Mutual respect is stressed in the advice given by elders at marriage. There is no double standard for ex-

593 There is no double standard for extramarital sexual relations, although men abuse the prohibition more often than women, judging from court cases. The ability the women has to assert herself rests on her economic contribution in pottery-making and on the fact that female household help is not part of the labor market.

562 831 Female sexuality has the connotation of negative power over male sexuality. A woman should not step over a man's feet or his clothing since she could affect his virility. This negative power emanates from the odors of a woman's body, and is captured by anything in contact with it. A woman's skirt cast over the head of a bull can tame him, and the water used by a woman to wash her body, particularly the vagina if she has had children, is drunk to cure snake bites because it is very "cold."

Sexuality is seldom extended beyond persons to material objects. There is some feeling that a man's tools, especially the machete and hoe, are male and that a woman's tools, especially the grinding stone, are female. Corn is a crop of men, while beans are a woman's crop, identified with the Virgin. But I could not get much farther with such distinctions.

593 597 861 The accidents of birth determine the recruitment of successive generations into the family of orientation. There is no outright adoption, but a child may be "lent" to a childless couple, usually by a sibling of one of the spouses, or a grandchild may take up residence in the house of a grandparent when all the children have moved to separate residences. Parents discipline a badly behaved child with the threat, "I am going to sell you to care for someone's house," but I have never known of a case of outright sale of a child.

581 582 The selection of a spouse is a decision based on both universalistic as well as particularistic considerations. Both the boy and the girl should be hardworking, sober, and dutiful residents of the same section of the dual division. It is considered to be of greater importance that the boy feel affection toward the girl than vice versa. The "taking of the heart" is a test of the strength and exclusiveness of the boy's interest in his chosen mate, and there is no counterpart for the girl. Although there is no term for romantic love, the closest approximation being "want" or "ask for" a woman, there is an awareness of the importance of a warm, affectionate basis if a marriage relationship is to last "at least until the day after tomorrow." A suitor is accepted if he is known to be a hard worker and if he

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



does not drink or have a record of fighting. Character traits are given more significance than wealth, since the minimal differences which distinguish rich from poor can be lost within a few months if a man drinks heavily or does not work. The close identification among siblings means that in accepting a suit the girl's parents will take into consideration not only the boy's reputation, but those of his brothers. If they are considered to be disobedient, lazy, or frequently drunk, their brother may have difficulty finding a woman.

Positions of ceremonial importance in the household celebrations are filled by any of the elders who have acquired knowledge of the prayers. The nakawanehetik are chosen from among any of the bilaterally-extended relatives, compadres, or padrinos who have served five times in religious office. They are selected not only on the basis of how well they know the prayers, but also on their behavior when required to drink. A man who can hold his liquor and still speak well or who quietly goes to sleep rather than fighting when drunk is preferred. The me?il k'op is selected from among the female complements of these male relatives. She acquires her knowledge of the prayers in familial settings. The b'alnialetik are chosen from the kihtz'inal (younger siblings and cousins), or from among compadres or members of neighboring households. The rank order between the two sets of roles—the nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik—depends on relative age; thus the older nakawanehetik have greater authority.

Familial roles provide both a pattern and a springboard for other roles in the community. The father-son role pair is extended to the relationships between senior and junior officials in both the religious hierarchy and the curing hierarchy. For each saint, the elder mayordomo is called "father" (*Tatil Martoma*), and the younger is called "son" (*Nič'nal Martoma*). A man must fill the junior post at least two times before taking on the senior post. For each side of the dual division, the elder curer (when there was a recognized leader) was called "father" (*Tatil ?u?ul*), and the younger was called "son" (*Nic'nal ?u?ul*) or sometimes "youth" (*Biktal ?u?ul*). The term *me?il* (woman who has borne a child) is used in the reference to ceremonial roles played by women in the household, as in the case of me?il k'op (woman speaker) and me?il č'om (mother of the betrothal).

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



Familial role requirements must be fulfilled in order for public roles to be undertaken. A man must be married in order to enter into even the lowest posts in the civil and religious hierarchies.

Only in the case of the alfereces has wealth ever been a criterion for recruitment. These four officials had to be able to spend 3,000 pesos during their year in office. The heavy expenditures failed to give prestige to the official, and the display of wealth excited envy rather than respect. The result was that people called upon to accept the post had to be imprisoned before they would accept.

Recruitment to roles in almost all institutional contexts is based on innate qualities; special skills and knowledge are attributes acquired in office or other role positions rather than requirements for undertaking roles. Curers are recruited because they are recognized as having an animal spirit; they learn whatever skills are required after they have been initiated into the profession. The curers' special position in the society rests more on esoteric powers than on esoteric knowledge. Everyone in the community knows the herbs and medicines which are prescribed, and most men can give as comprehensive a taxonomy of illnesses as any practicing curer.

Economic roles, though largely undifferentiated for each sex, are consciously learned and transmitted. Boys accompany their fathers or elder brothers to the field at about the age of eight and continue working with them until they reach independence. Observation of behavior alone would seem to indicate an unconscious absorption of the role of agricultural worker, but informants recount episodes in which training in field work was explicitly transmitted by their fathers or brothers, and formal approval of their ability to do the tasks announced to their mothers. Parents express fear that school attendance not only interferes with working in the milpa, but that it will cause the child to forget what he has learned in the field. Regardless of what other tasks a man performs, he thinks of himself as a farmer.

Becoming a potter requires an even more explicit training procedure. The fine linguistic segmentation of each act and movement in the schedule of pottery-making is a clue to the explicit transmission of tasks by the

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



support of whatever is said—repeating the final phrase of the person conversing or injecting supportive statements such as "indeed, indeed," or "so it is." In the dance of the alfereces' wives, for example, women were the model of deference, moving in a self-contained pattern before the assembled guests, with slow, tiny steps, eyes downcast, a shawl covering their heads on which they wore their husbands' ceremonial hats.

Through recruitment procedures, alternation and linkage in official roles, and leadership validated by age and service in lower positions—principles applying to role relations in all institutions—Tzo'ontahal has remained an integrated community. There is a high degree of stereotyping in behavior from one institution to another, and norms of behavior are the same for public as for private roles. However, a remarkably high homicide rate and open conflict in all of the institutional settings indicate basic sources of disruption.

Since 1960 the rate of homicide in town has increased from an average of 1 every 2 years to an average of 5 or 6 per year. Table 29 indicates the role relationships of killer to victim in 37 of over 70 homicides occurring between 1937 and 1964. The highest incidence of homicide (7 cases) occurred between brothers and brothers-in-law. Male siblings comprise the closest cooperating group. Brothers work together in the milpa until the father dies or divides his property among his children during his lifetime. Bilateral inheritance with equal division of land and houses among female as well as male offspring means that brothers-in-law are potential competitors for the same limited resources. Friction arising among brothers and brothers-in-law does not come from the principle of equal inheritance, but rather because of the fact of differing responsibilities and expenses within the family. For example, the child who has remained with the parents and thus assumes the burden of care for them in their declining years often feels that he should inherit a greater share. The disputes arise in the decisions concerning how much this disadvantage should be weighted. The suppression of overt competition may in part explain the homicidal acts. Although the tensions in fact stem from suppressed economic competition, they are translated into witchcraft accusations as soon as anyone in the family becomes ill. Violence against a witch is condoned by the community and provides a channel for latent hostility. Once the accusation has

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7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



been made, there is no recourse but to kill the man since he may retaliate by killing his accuser (this occurred in two of the cases noted in Table 29).

Conflict between generations in the role sets father/son and father/son-in-law stems from delay in carrying out role responsibilities. Fathers are expected to provide the money for the costs of betrothal, and to give their children shares of the patrimony including both land and livestock. The scheduling of when this should occur is often a matter of dispute, resulting in at least two cases of homicide in the period analyzed.

New economic enterprises have exacerbated the tensions rising from envy. Foster (1965) has suggested that envy stems from the notion of the "limited good," requiring the strategy of a "zero sum game" (Bennet 1966). The fact that the new wealth is evidence of new opportunities, not a subtraction from a given resource supply, has not entered the cognitive awareness of the people. The prospering leaders of these enterprises feel themselves to be particularly vulnerable to the envy of others and thus to the charge of witchcraft. There have been several open attacks on new leaders accused as witches; the leader of the truck cooperative, for example, was murdered in 1966. Six men have been killed as cattle thieves in the past ten years.

The economic roles created with the introduction of new enterprises have not been integrated in the traditional pattern of recruitment and control. In the association of cattle breeders, leadership tends to be based on the size of the herd; in the case of the truck cooperative, amount of capital invested and entrepreneurial skills have determined the leadership of the enterprise, while driving skill and ability to get along in the Ladino world has been the basis for choice of drivers. Such achievement principles as the basis for recruitment into these envied positions are not accepted in the same way that age and passage through a hierarchy of posts validated higher positions in the old hierarchies. The conspicuous expenditure of wealth in the more expensive posts in the religious hierarchy has also failed to lessen hostility aroused by the increasing disparity in wealth, and in fact those who have served as alférez have been even more subject to witchcraft aroused by envy.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



The following list of moral transgressions is roughly ordered in terms of the egregiousness of the crime: witchcraft, theft of cattle, theft of corn, "talking with" a woman (this is a euphemism for having an affair), having more than one wife, killing, and disrespect to parents. There is a fair amount of consistency in the rank order given by different informants. Of five people questioned, all ranked witchcraft first, and theft, without qualification as to what was stolen, second. Subjects questioned differentiated the crime of "talking with" a woman according to the status of the woman —it was worse to have relations with a married woman than with an unmarried girl or with a widow. Killing was listed late or not at all by some because it is assumed that the killer has cause unless the contrary is proved. The dead man is referred to as the guilty one. It is considered worse to kill a consanguineous relative than an affinal relative or a nonrelative. One man remarking on an incident in which a person lost his bull said: "It was a punishment of God for killing his father. If it had been his stepfather, it would be different." Wanton killing is said to be absent in the pueblo, and something that the kurik of the colonias do. The three murders in the past ten years resulting from barroom brawls between "friends" have not dispelled this notion.

Disrespect shown to parents is considered a serious violation of morality. A boy who refuses to listen to his father cannot expect to receive the protection and support of his parents, usually offered a child throughout their lifetime, or of the community. If the son abuses his father verbally or physically in public, the father is supported in whatever action he takes. One father, whose son kicked him in one of the local bars, drew applause when he made the sign of the cross in two deep gashes with his machete on his son's forehead. To beat one's father or mother is a great sin, but to beat one's wife is tolerated, particularly if it is done in drunkenness. If a man other than the husband beats a woman for any cause, she may reciprocate by beating him in court "before the eyes of the judges." One woman who was awarded this privilege when her husband's brother beat her said, "If he were my own husband, it would be all right for him to beat me."

The good man is "of one heart" and reveals it by his humility ("very soft heart"). The rules for demonstrating this are given by an old man who is frequently asked to be a nakawane in his section of the dual divi-

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



as lawyers. The defendant is sometimes accompanied by supporters who feel that he has a case. The failure of parents to accompany a defendant, regardless of his age, is attributed to their shame over their child's misbehavior and their own failure to train him properly. The judge does not limit himself to passing judgment but also counsels the defendant as to how he should behave.

The town hall is usually shut and locked at noon unless some business requires more time. In the evening about six, the officials return to take their same posts. They sit with their arms drawn inside their woolen jackets for warmth. After a half an hour they drift home. People rely on the presence of officials rather than particular actions to maintain social control, and it is their appearance at regular hours that assures the villagers that the town is being well run.

Local autonomy depends primarily on retaining social control functions. Civil officials try to settle disputes locally and avoid the entry of Ladino officials from the departmental capital, although the judges and president will threaten the defendant with taking the case to the department if they cannot get compliance. The number of cases referred to the capital has been increasing since 1950 as Table 32 shows. In 1951 the federal government began to fine local officials who failed to report homicide cases and accidental death. The local officials complied, but departmental courts were unable to bring action in over half the cases. No action was taken in 72 cases, or 54 percent, in comparison with 62 cases, or 46 percent, in which action was taken. Domestic cases, except for one of adultery, are adequately handled in local courts and do not appear in the departmental records. The trend shows an increasing number of cases of crimes against persons in comparison to crimes against property, an index to the breakdown in social control processes.

## The Church

The church has been built and on two occasions rebuilt—when the tower was struck by lightning—with funds collected locally from household heads. Damage to the church was attributed to the patron saint of the neighboring town of Oxchuk who, the people say, was fighting with their patroness, Santa Lucía. The townspeople feel that they own the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 301 ]

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

# Appendix 1

# Settlement of Domestic Cases

## A. House Arrangement of Separation

The following transcription of a tape recording concerns the house arrangement of a domestic dispute involving Alberta, the niece and adopted daughter of Mariano. She left her husband and returned to Mariano's home with her one-year-old child because of her husband's abusive treatment. Mariano invited all of the members of the betrothal party, as well as the maliwanehetik who had assisted in the marriage negotiations and Victorio, Alberta's husband. The leader of the betrothal negotiations was unable to attend because he had been drinking all day at another betrothal party. The arrangement proceeded with the padrino of the wedding, Pablo, and Alvino, Victorio's uncle and another elder in the betrothal negotiations, leading the discussion. I asked Mariano to tape the session so that my presence would not be an interference. In the joking session, the tape recorder became a target for the men's humor when, trying to replay it, they found that one section had not recorded clearly.

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Pablo opened the discussion by asking the errant husband's elder representative, Feliciano, if the family wanted to take the girl back. Feliciano agreed that that was their purpose in coming, and that they must hear what happened to cause the dispute between the couple. Maria, the foster mother of Alberta, summarized their complaints against Victorio and his family.

Maria: *It is almost as though the child [Alberta's year-old daughter] has no father. We have been feeding her because we have had to support both of them. When the child became sick with diarrhea the father did nothing to help.*
Pablo: *Yes, we have to think of that. The child was frightened by her father and became ill.*
Maria: *When he came to our house, he fought Alberta, and the child was ill. Alberta went to the courthouse to complain about his behavior.*
Pablo: *It couldn't be arranged in the courthouse. It is better to settle the dispute here in the house.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



C27 Maria: *Whenever he came to see her, he was drunk and came in fighting.*
593 Victorio: *It is a lie. I came, but I was not only fighting. I wasn't always very*
578 *drunk. I came there sober to speak to you. I asked about how my wife was.*
126 *Then I went to see my uncle in Grandeza. He told me that if he couldn't order*
586 *her to come, then I better come here to hear what is said. When I went there, I was sober. I brought two bottles of beer. He said, "Ah, it is you," when I arrived at his house. "Come in and sit down." I sat down. I took off the cap of the beer and measured it out. "What have you come to say?" he asked me. "I am unhappy, father," I said. "What has happened to you?" he said. "I went to see Alberta," I said. He asked me if I had beaten her, and I said, "No, we only spoke a few words."*

Santia: *But if you hadn't hit her, why would she have come back to her father's house?"*

Victorio: *I only wanted to come to an understanding with her.*

Alvino: *So it is, you came to speak to me.*

Victorio: *It was in order to arrive at an understanding as you had told me. But I didn't succeed then.*

Alvino: *You didn't succeed in what you wanted?*

Victorio: *No, nothing.*

Alvino: *Well, when nothing happened, you could have gone later to ask with good words.*

Victorio: *I returned late in the afternoon. I had been drinking a little beer, and I was a little drunk. My father-in-law came with me. He had a fourth of liquor inside his shirt. We arrived at prayertime. My father-in-law was in the church since he was mayordomo at the time. We came in good faith to hear what was wrong.*

Mariano: *But then he came another time. I had gone to hot country to work. He came to the house and wanted to break it. He pulled out two of the tiles in the gate and entered. That was his crime.*

Victorio's father: *That wasn't good. You shouldn't go drunk when you can't understand anything.*

Maria: *We are not at fault. We spoke to him with good words. We told him he could take his wife.*

Elder woman of Victorio's family: *We told him he ought not to come when he was drunk.*

Pablo: *But now he wants to change for the better. You ought not to drink. It is better to eat meat and vegetables, and find corn and beans for your wife and child. Now we have arranged it, and you can take your wife and child to your house.*

?: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



Mariano took out cigarettes, and the group relaxed as all lit up the cigarettes and smoked. They discussed my tape recorder as they listened to the tape replayed. When they came to the section that did not record well, they decided that they should take it out and urinate on it. One man suggested that they should put it in prison, and another said that they should shoot it. This provoked general laughter. They went on to discuss the smoking habits of Ladinos. Pablo remarked that Ladino lawyers do nothing but sit in their offices and talk and smoke. Mariano and Victorio's father joked a great deal, the latter maintaining that Pablo had threatened to castrate him. This was picked up by Pablo who said that then Mariano would be a madrina to his godmother, Martina (the woman speaker in the betrothal negotiations). This provoked a great deal of laughter among the women. They then joked with Mariano about Pablo's other madrina, a Ladina from the neighboring town who sells the blood of slaughtered bulls. They refer to her as *me? Skitaoo*, the fat one. Mariano remarked to the women that Victorio's father must be a witch, and someone would try to kill him on the road. The conversation turned from the danger of going alone in the woods to a discussion of hunting. Feliciano bragged that he had an excellent hunting dog which he bought from a Ladino and which he referred to as "the Ladino dog." Mariano asked what Ladino they bought it from, but Feliciano denied knowledge of who the man was. They suggested it was nothing but a Huistecan Indian who changed his clothing. The joking and drinking continued until midnight, when the assembled company finally broke up. The next day Alberta went to live with her husband in the new house he had built.

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## B. Court Arrangement of Separation

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Persons present:

Judge
Father of Plaintiff
Mother of Plaintiff
Plaintiff
Husband of Plaintiff
Regidor
President

This case concerns a husband who had been separated from his wife and wished a settlement so that she would return to him. The man had been married before, and he occasionally returned to his first wife. When he got drunk,

695 he announced on the loudspeaker of the cantina that he was a poor man who
593 had to maintain two wives. This caused embarrassment to his second wife,
578 who asked for the hearing in order to separate from him. He was working in
586 the sawmill and had not provided for her support. The text is a translation of the transcription of a tape recording in Tzeltal.

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593 Judge [to father of Plaintiff]: *Come, Mam compadre, and give evidence of what*
578 *has happened.*
586 Father: *This isn't the first time he has left his wife. It would be different, Mam*
126 *compadre, if he had only left her once, but he has left her several times.*
Judge: *Why do you keep on leaving her and coming back? It would be better to get her out of your system once and for all.*
Mother: *He goes to his mother's house but then comes back just to fight.*
Judge: *You ought to stop your fighting when you go to your wife.*
Father: *So it is, Mam judge. If it had just been a few words or one visit, but he is always coming here to fight. Even if you drink, you should speak well when you come to our house.*
Plaintiff: *He said he had nothing to eat but dry tortillas. I said to him, 'Go heat your tortillas. You're going to have to live like a woman if you get rid of your wife. Who is going to watch for you at the gate since I no longer intend to? There is nothing to eat in the house because there isn't any money."*
Judge: *She says this because she is angry.*
Mother: *She speaks because she isn't a fool. He can't answer that.*
Judge: *They are still young, but they will learn. Also, he ought not to continue drinking.*
Mother: *He doesn't obey me. Eight days later, and he repeats the same abuse.*
Judge [to husband]: *Why do you want to do this?*
Husband: *I want a woman who takes good care of me.*
Father: *Does his wife have a lover, that she leaves the house uncared for?*
Husband: *We're fighting because she is always going off to my mother-in-law's house.*
Plaintiff: *Every time he gets drunk, he comes shouting. Why shouldn't I leave so that the child doesn't see us fighting?*
Husband: *I get drunk because of the fighting. If there wasn't any fighting I would just want a soda.*
Plaintiff: *Who wants that? There wouldn't be any fighting if you didn't come.*
Mother: *God can say that we don't want the embarrassment. I said, "Stop fighting. It isn't good. She doesn't give you tortillas or atole because you are always*

7t Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



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*fighting. You ought to speak in sobriety. Why do you always want to fight and argue?"*

Plaintiff: *At first it was the fault of a little board. For the crime of giving my mother a little piece of wood I had to come here the first time [refers to dispute arising over some wood which plaintiff had lent or given to her mother, and for which Husband wanted money].*

Mother: *I am supporting the children he comes and "asks for" [refers to the fact that husband impregnates wife, and then does not support the family]. The child cried a great deal when we were inside the cabildo. It was I who had to feed him. Why would I want this, my compadre judges? A husband who leaves you . . .*

Father: *How is the child going to grow up? And he keeps asking for another one.*

Mother: *You treat your wife like a mule, like a horse when you go to work. When I asked him to get some wood, he said, "Have I turned into your husband? Don't tell me what to do."*

Plaintiff: *If he gave something it would be good, but he never has supported me or even pays anything when he comes here.*

Mother: *He is never coming back to our house. We have spoken to the Ladino [Ramon, the former secretary who wrote out the marriage act]. We went to San Cristóbal to see what they would say. [Speaking to huband] But you don't listen to what he told you. You don't pay any attention because you are a devil. What good is it for us to go up to San Cristóbal?*

Father: *You should go, but you go on fighting as you started.*

Judge: [to husband]: *You should stay sober.*

Mother: *If he came to me sober, I would give him atole or sodas, Mam compadre. I returned the little board he had lent me, but he broke it.*

Plaintiff: *I gave him money for some soap, but he never gave account of that.*

Judge: *Now are you going to go with him?*

Plaintiff: *I am never going to go with him, elder brother. Even if he says he wants to take me back to his house, because I am not in his heart.*

Judge: *Ah, no. Let us explain.*

Mother: *Do you want to hear worse? No one is going to stay just to cook tortillas.*

Father: *It would be good, compadre, if she split with him.*

Judge: *They cannot split up because they are married.*

Father: *Well, compadre, if they [husband's family] take her back, then I am not going to return here. I am going to have to go to San Cristóbal.*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



695 Regidor: *What has been arranged isn't good. There are small children, and he*
593 *cannot support them.*
578 Judge: *But what else can they do, compadre? Better go to the man's house and*
586 *make a fire there [a metaphorical allusion to acting as a wife in keeping the*
126 *home fires burning].*

Plaintiff: *Although you speak to him, he doesn't listen. He never listened to his father.*

Husband: *What do you want to bring up my dead father for? He never ordered me, nor has any other person.*

Plaintiff: *I am not a fool. You gave me a wound, you broke my tooth. We want to stop all this and finish with the trouble you cause.*

Mother: *Let's come to some understanding. If it is only the trouble with the board, then I will give him the money and see if it is what he says.*

Judge: *This is not good, my compadre. It isn't going to content your heart.*

Mother: *I want to return and take out the marriage paper. It was Don Ramon who married them.*

Judge: *It isn't good for you to go do that. We are trying to arrange things here. The president has charge of the archives.*

Plaintiff: *He told me he was angry. I said, "Why do you want to sell the boards?" [This refers to the wood she had lent her mother.] He said, "I am going to bring more." I asked him again why he wanted to sell the boards. He said he had received money for them. He asked me where the boards were, and I said I had lent them to my mother. "Go get them if you want them," I said. He never gave me back the payment for the soap that I gave him. He spent it for liquor. I said to him, "Where is the soap?" and he said, "I spent it on liquor." When he gets drunk, he begins to fight me. He doesn't want me to talk back, but what does he expect? He said he was going to get another wife, that I was very lazy and very slack. I told him, "Why don't you go out and cut some wood?" He said, "Where do you think I am going to get some wood?" I was ashamed to go before my brother-in-law with my child and ask him. He never wanted to cut wood or ocote.*

Judge: *It is not good what he did. He should do what is necessary in the house.*

Plaintiff: *It is for this reason that I don't want to go with him, Mam Judge. He is always saying that his first wife was a very good worker. If I didn't have a husband or if there were no children, I would bring the wood, but I am not going to do it while he is around.*

Judge: *What would you say if he brought you back to his house?*

Plaintiff: *But I don't want it. What does he want me for? You heard him say I am a whore. He said I was a bitch. He said, "You are an old shit!" I don't want to have anything to do with him. What does he want me for if I am an old whore as he says? He said she [first wife] was a better woman than I.*

Father: *The judge told him before, "Go give your wife some support." We had three settlements before this. Mam Ramon said he was sick of seeing the woman in court so often.*

Judge: *First we will try to settle things here, and if he doesn't go in accord with custom, then you can go up to San Cristóbal.*

Father: *Here me, Mam judges, everyone fights occasionally, maybe makes two or three trips to court. But every time he gets drunk, he looks for a fight. I told him to stop fighting, but he doesn't listen. If I let my daughter go with him, he just takes her and produces more children. I have always had to support her then. He doesn't come around either drunk or sober. If he had come and told me what her fault was, then it would be good. When I had asked him what sins she had committed, he didn't say anything.*

Husband: *She just told me, "Leave me here and you go with your mother. I shall go back to my house."*

Plaintiff: *I left word with him that I was finished because of all the fighting. I don't want to go with a drunkard. [To husband] Even if you drink, you shouldn't beat me.*

Judge: *If you want a woman, you ought to support her. You shouldn't fight.*

Husband: *She told me, "You aren't the only man in the world. There are plenty of men who would want me."*

Plaintiff: *I never said that! You're looking for a fight!*

Husband: *What do you mean you didn't say that? My mother heard it.*

Plaintiff: *Go bring your mother. She didn't want to come because she is ashamed. It isn't the first time we are settling things in court.*

Judge: *You ought to go with him this time, but if it happens again, we will split you up. What else can we do if you don't obey our advice?*

Father: *When he goes to work, Mam compadre, he ought to look and see how much pay he is getting and how it will stretch to support his wife. Then she will make his tortillas for him contentedly, and there won't be any fighting.*

Judge: *We say that when he comes home from work he should ask his wife what she wants to spend for coffee or salt and all the things she will have to buy.*

Plaintiff: *He doesn't give any account of his little pay.*

Husband: *I don't want to say how much there is because there are still debts*

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle



695 593 578 586 126 *from when I was asking for her [refers to betrothal expenses]. When the debt is paid off, then I can.*

Judge [to wife]: *You heard that he will have to pay off the debt. Now go with your husband in one heart. [To husband] Go with your wife. If you have enough money, ask your wife if she needs some coffee or if she needs salt and wants the payment of it. You have to give some money in order to live contentedly.*

Father: *So it is, Mam compadre. It is good to be content and see the fire in the hearth. One time he came to my house and I said, "Come in. Let's take a look at what money you have earned." I told him to go save his money, give it to his wife to keep it for him. That is what I said to him.*

Regidor: *And it wasn't to deceive him. It would be good if he would believe [obey] this advice. They have been paying him double because he is a labor agent.*

Judge [to father]: *So it is, Mam compadre. Let it rest there.*

Regidor [to husband]: *The day after tomorrow, don't come back here with a couple more children and say you don't want her. Go back to your mother's house. You are lucky to have a wife. If you don't have a wife, you go get drunk every day. But with a wife life is good. She will give you coffee and corn to eat. Don't go on fighting when drunk or sober. Both my compadres have advised you [refers to judges].*

Mother: *So it is, Mam compadre. I am going now, Mam compadre. [Rises and leaves].*

Judge: *Go then, my compadre.*

The father and the husband give money for the fourth regidor to buy beer, and the group of men sit and drink the two family-size bottles which are purchased.

627 754 questioning of other men, that after the murder the community would take their side. If a man is killed, and community understanding accepts that he was a witch, no individual is identified publicly as the instrument of communal revenge. Solid community [573] silence accepts the verdict. Even the family of the deceased has to make a public rejection of the dead witch, or else they risk being forced to leave town, having their house burned, or similar misfortunes. That is to say, they have to publicly establish their innocence by expressing their lack of identification with the witch. Of course, not all conflict is always expressed in witchcraft terms. Witchcraft is, in a sense, the ultimate recourse for the explanation or settlement of disputes when all other means have failed to accomplish the re-establishment of social harmony. 578 If one man fights with another in a drunken brawl, for example, 627 he will try, when sober, to make peace with him, rather than let [754] the other man's antagonism become a reason for witchcraft against him. He can try to settle the conflict personally, or the kinsmen of both parties can do it; the case can be taken up by the Ayuntamiento where the man found guilty would pay a fine, and both 627 parties would be lectured on the dangers of quarrelling. Metzger 578 and Kauffman (1961) transcribed and reported one informant's speech which states the case very neatly:

[625] Thus, the mayores, the police, are appointed by the town. You should not quarrel; it is not for the fun of it that they [the town authorities] will come and get you if you look for trouble? They have the commandment of the agente municipal. They have the commandment of the juez municipal, because you have looked for trouble. You will go to jail for one or two days. Then your head and heart will calm down if you did it because of liquor. In clearheadedness you will enter into judgement. If the misdeed is small, the punishment will be

883 (gang), containing males from the age of about twelve to the time
562 they marry. They usually sleep together in one of the escuadrilla
573 member's house corridor, and spend long nights playing the harmonica, having corn eating competitions or serenading.

562 A man is not considered a full-fledged community member
885 until he marries and has a child (the word for man and father
851 have the same root: tat), which allows him to take the lower
601 post in the government (policía). The government itself is an
621 age-graded organization in which the kinship terms of elder and
621 younger brother are used reciprocally, and by extension, by of-
561 ficers in lower and higher posts.
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562 With the passing of time, both men and women increase their
593 status by raising a family and by passing to higher positions in
621 the civil-religious hierarchy. Although women do not participate
794 directly in the government, they have some duties as officer's wives (e.g., ironing the Saint's clothes if their husbands are Mayordomos), and they are called by their husband's titles. A man may resign from office if his wife dies and there is no other adult woman in the household who can take care of her part of the officer's performance.

184 The first noticeable difference in the ordering of social
562 relations in Aguacatenango and Amatenango is the position of women
592 in the domestic group.

184 In Aguacatenango, the eldest male is the head of the
562 household. He controls the land which the men of the household
462 work, the cattle, the labor of the household members and most of
592 the money obtained through the sale of surplus corn (which is

184 used as a cash crop) or livestock. He decides when and where to
562 plant what, who should buy or sell any household property, when
462 to go to market, etc. If a son is living with his father, he
592 can talk about "our cow," but he is usually referring to his
592 father's animal. In the same way, when a woman who is single
593 talks about "our maize," she is referring to the maize cultivated
562 by her father and brothers and stored by her mother. If she is
married, she means the maize produced by her father-in-law and
husband, and controlled by her mother-in-law.

592 The eldest woman in the household has authority over the
593 younger females residing within it, including the daughter-in-
562 law, because during the period in which a married man resides with
[606] his parents, the wife, being the younger, is under the direct
[251] authority of her husband's mother. The elder woman controls the
food given to her by her husband and son, and she keeps it stored
in the tapanco (roof granary). She selects the food for the
meals, and sets up the housekeeping schedule for the younger
women in the homestead.

592 Women "keep" the money that their husbands earn at home.
593 They are supposed to save it, and not spend any of it without the
434 husband's permission. They do control small amounts of cash
562 which they can obtain by selling eggs, fruits or some vegetables
that they grow in the garden. They are allowed to spend it on
some luxuries: new clothes for a fiesta, a new pot, or something
similar, but they are not expected to take care of themselves.
59 Before marriage, a woman is supported by her father and brothers,
562 and lives under her father's roof. After marriage, she is

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
593 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
520 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom
586 she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
592 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

159 592 437 602 come back when the father was home because not even he could sell the pig without his consent. The Ladino was then forced to give up.

A few days later, Juan sold the pig according to his own plans. He kept the money, except for a small amount that he gave to his wife and daughter-in-law, in spite of the fact that María had fattened the pig, and that it had been previously said that the pig was the young couple's animal.[1]

592 593 562 421 [431] A woman living with her husband in a separate household has some autonomy within it, but she is still subordinate to her husband. She owns little property. A woman may be given a cow *when she marries, but her father is not obliged to do so.* It is simply a regalo (present). She does not own agricultural implements. She can not own land or inherit from her husband, except in cases where she is, in effect, keeping the house in trust for her male children, and it has not been claimed by her husband's father or brothers who have primacy rights over such property.

[561] [851] As she grows older, and with the birth of children, her position becomes somewhat less dependent. She has more prestige in the eyes of her husband's family and other people, and if her marital relation has developed into a strong emotional bond, her interaction with her husband is less subordinate. He would consult

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[231] [42] [562] [1]The animals are usually said to "belong" to one particular woman in the household. However, this does not mean that she has property rights over it; it only means that she is the person in charge of feeding it. Thus, the expression el cochi de María (María's pig) means the pig which María has the responsibility to feed every day, and it does not assume that she can sell it, kill it for meat, or do anything about it without the consent of the head of the household.

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her before making important decisions, and allow her to handle some of the household property, such as the selling of pigs.

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But even under the best conditions, the position of a woman is de facto lower than the position of men. If her husband gets drunk and beats her up, she is not supposed to complain, but accept it as part of her role. One of our informants said that once she scolded her husband for drinking, and he said: "I am not asking you for the money." If he is unfaithful, she has no real way of controlling his behavior except by leaving his house, running away to San Cristóbal to work for a few days as a servant or breaking up the marriage.

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In Amatenango, the pottery making village, the situation is quite different. First, women are economically independent, being able to make a living without a male in the household. Second, they control the profits made by the household from the sale of pottery and from the sale of cash crops such as chayotes which they plant in their gardens. In many cases, they own the house in which they live with their husband and children. They contribute as much as their male siblings to the support of the whole domestic group while they were living in their family's home, and it is possible for them to inherit both land and cattle, a fact which reinforces the equivalent standing between women and their male siblings.

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Adultery in Amatenango has strong reactive sanctions for both men and women, and a "wife is considered within her rights to order an erring husband out of the house." "Women do not tolerate

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



184 "Women do not tolerate
593 beating by their husbands, and they frequently seek justice in
692 the local court if this occurs" (Nash, J., 1960:34).

184 In sum, Aguacatenango women have a dependent role all of
562 their lives, while Amatenango women enjoy a freer and more autonomous life. The people of Aguacatenango say that la mujer se debe a su marido y sus criaturas (a woman is indebted, or bound to obey, her husband and her children), while in Amatenango people believe that women are la fuerza en la casa (the authority or power in the home) (Nash, J., 1960:29). This set of contrasting statements sums up, from their own point of view, the different conceptions of the woman's role and position in the domestic group.

184 The second difference between Amatenango and Aguacatenango
592 is the criteria employed in both places for the recruitment of household personnel. Membership in a household implies both (1) a kinship connection with a sponsor who lives in the unit, and (2) economic interdependency.

Membership in a household changes for the individual at crucial times in his life, and changes in age and marital status give a person the right to attach himself or herself to a particular domestic group. An analysis of residence patterns of the two villages shows how, during the developmental cycle of the household, it changes membership and how particular individuals, according to their age, sex, marital status, kinship connection and economic role, are recruited into the unit.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



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591 Another principal criticism of Fischer's typology attaches to his third proposal, which, as Fortes has made clear, disregards the developmental cycle of the households in which individuals reside.

The two approaches, the "developmental" approach and the "sponsorship" approach, are not contradictory but complementary to each other. Each offers a useful framework for a satisfactory analysis. The differences are merely differences in emphasis.

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591 In the analysis of residence in this paper, a combination of both types of analysis are utilized with some modifications which will allow me to describe the results in terms of the norms of residence and the real patterns or distributions, and to elicit the rules that govern residence choices for individuals. The section deals, therefore, both with techniques and method of analysis, and with particular hypotheses.

## Aguacatenango Residence

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### The Norms

The people of Aguacatenango believe that a newly married couple should live with the boy's parents until they have proved to be successful in procreating and raising, through the weaning period, one or more children. While the young couple lives within the parental compound of the husband, he should work under the direction of his father, under whose direct authority he should act, and every one of whose decisions he should obey because his father lo está manteniendo (is supporting him), and the son está brio su poder (is under the father's power).

593 583 584 The boy obtains a wife with his father's help. He has usually selected the girl himself, but his father makes the arrangements with the girl's parents and pays the bride-price. The bride-price, called the bocado (mouthful), is paid to the household of the future bride and has a fixed value, 300 pesos, given in the form of consumable goods: chocolate, sugar, bread, coffee, cigarettes and trago (the local brew).[1]

585 183 593 606 At the marriage ceremony, the new wife and husband are instructed in the rights and duties of their new role. The young wife is told, in a formal speech given by an elder man of the

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[1]The regular marriage negotiations include several visits to the girl's parents called the pedidas (requests), which can be spread over a period of six months to a year. The last pedida is [585] considered the engagement ceremony, and after that comes the entrega de la muchacha (the giving away of the bride) which is the ceremony referred to here as the marriage ceremony. This ceremony follows the native custom. There are two other marriage ceremonies which can be performed, and are optative. One is the civil marriage at the Ayuntamiento, selected by very few because it is considered an unnecessary expense, although it gives some prestige. The other is a Church wedding, performed by the Catholic priest. This wedding ceremony does not occur until the couple have been married several years and have children. Church weddings are considered to be strong bonds, which are very difficult to break up. In many cases, if a couple is fighting a lot and the wife threatens to leave the homestead, the husband will try to marry her in the Church to force her to stay in the household. Because of its high prestige value, if a boy is rejected by the family of his sweetheart at the pedida, the suitor's family will offer as an extra attraction a Church wedding immediately after the entrega de la muchacha.

In some cases, when the suitor is rejected by the parents of the girl, or if he cannot afford the bride-price but the girl is willing to live with him, the marriage ceremony is not performed. In these cases, the institution of the robo (the stealing of the girl) is common practice. The suitor arranges with his girl-friend to run away together at night, and go to his home. Therefore, robos or huidas occur with the consent of the groom's parents, who have to accept the girl into the home. The robo is [621] common in inter-barrio marriages, where the pedidas ritual is socially impossible to carry on, because the limitations put upon barrio interaction and the rules of barrio endogamy.

585 183 593 606 family, that she starts a new life. She now has a new family and a new home where she should learn new ways of doing things from her mother-in-law, and forget the old ones she learned from her mother. Among her duties as a good wife and daughter-in-law she should keep her husband well fed and clean, obey her mother-in-law for whom she should work hard, and respect the head of the household (her father-in-law). She should not visit her family too often, and she should gather firewood with her mother-in-law instead of with her mother.[1] The ceremony indicates two things: [581] (1) the transfer of the wife's reproductive and labor power from her natal home to her husband's; (2) the boundaries of her new role. In a sense, the people of Aguacatenango define the role of a wife in terms of her performance as a worker and as a daughter-in-law, and in terms of her relations with all the members of the household rather than only in terms of her relation to her husband.

593 885 [851] On the other hand, a new husband's performance is under trial. He has to demonstrate that he can get along with his wife, and become a father, before his role as a dependent child is replaced by his role as a married man. At the time of acquiring a wife, a man is regarded by the community as a "child," being both economically and jurally dependent upon his father, who has complete authority over his actions, and is directly responsible for his son's misdeeds.[2]

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[583] [1] One of my informants tells me that although she was robada by her husband (she lived in the other barrio) the night she arrived at her husband's household, her father-in-law gave her a shortened version of the wedding speech. I do not know if this is a common practice.

[592] [672] [2] If a young man commits a crime while living under his father's roof, the father is responsible for his defense and for paying the fines to the Ayuntamiento.

593 885 During the first few years of marriage, he slowly becomes a tat (man). He establishes his own nuclear family, and he is able to take up the first officership in the local government, acquiring thus the rights to political ascension in the civil-religious hierarchy. We could say that the period of patri/virilocal residence has the function of smoothing the transition between bachelorhood and the responsibilities of married life.

581 591 Aguacatecos believe that a marriage has proved stable once children are produced and the man is capable of carrying on the economic burden of a family of his own. At this time, the couple should move to a house of their own, and form an independent household. A father, then, has to provide his son with a house site, in addition to a parcel to grow milpa.

591 [582] Soon, a younger brother (ideally, children marry in order of seniority) will marry and bring his wife into the parental home, starting a new cycle. The last of the sons (the po'h) [593] should stay with the parents until their death, and he and his [428] wife will inherit the parental house. It is preferable to have 591 606 only one daughter-in-law at a time living in the household. One informant suggested that the reason is that the mother-in-law is bound to prefer one of the two women, and this creates jealousy between them and fights.[1]

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[592] [1]When a second son marries, if the first son and his wife stay in the sitio they set up a separate kitchen, and eat their meals separately. In this case, the first daughter-in-law becomes independent of the mother-in-law, and works by herself, no longer under her mother-in-law's direct power. Except for the close spatial proximity, this arrangement functions as if the couple has set up a separate homestead, and the couple forms a separate domestic group within the same sitio (lot). The separate kitchen, or rather,

593 156 621 [583] Aguacatecos expect a man to take the responsibility of setting up his son in "business" as a community member. He pays for his son's bride, teaches him the skills for tilling the soil in order to earn a living, and provides him, at a prudential time, with the means of production: a parcel of land, and perhaps a few animals, and a house where he can live with his wife and children.

593 888 At the same time, a son is expected to take care of his parents when they are old and the father retires from agricultural work because he is too old, sick or weak to do, by himself, all the work necessary for the maintenance of his household as an economically independent unit. The people say that a son should provide for his aged parents because: "Did we not give them everything?"

The primary responsibility for the care of aged parents is usually given to one son in particular, preferably the last one (po'h). The villagers explain that this is his duty, because "if [428] he stays with us when all our other sons marry, get their land and leave, this house will be for him, he will inherit this place." Thus, the villager visualizes his dependency on the last son as an economic exchange between kinsmen: he receives from his son food and shelter, he gives him a house lot and house. The duties of a son toward his parents are expressed both in the kinship idiom

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[592] [591] [606] the separate cooking fire, is the symbol of the unity of one single domestic group. When two couples live within the sitio without dividing it, people are very careful to explain if they still cook together or not, and if they cultivate the land separately or not.

593 888 (e.g., the filial piety which is a basic component of the role of son), and in terms of economic rewards.

592 [183] The ideal pattern is one of reciprocal obligations: an established domestic group "launches into the world" the new domestic groups formed by the male offspring of the household couple, and a well established domestic group is responsible for the welfare of the domestic group from which it originated. Thus, [602] agnatically related domestic groups are expected to perform certain duties with respect to both the domestic group which originate them, and the domestic groups which they originate.

593 888 The concept of mantener (support), meaning to provide for a person's food, shelter and company, is a very important one for the villager. There is no sadder man than the one who has given everything to his sons, who has supported them for many years, and whose sons then refuse the reciprocal duty of caring for him in his old age. Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping one of [526] their married sons living with them are indeed very unhappy. People gossip about them as being "bad people" who did wrong to their children-in-law and mistreated their own. They gossip about the children themselves, accusing them of having a "small [736] heart" and of being envious and selfish. Aguacatecos pity widows (meba' al) and orphans (meba') because "they have nobody to support them." There is nothing as threatening to a couple as not having children, and if this happens, the community looks upon them with commiseration and says: "Poor little people, who is going to support them when they grow old?. . ."

592 593 Thus, the membership of a household changes through time,

592 but it is always built around a core of agnatically related men:
593 a father and his sons, united in their common interest in the patrimonial land and the fruits of their joint cooperative labor. To this core of men are attached their children and their wives, all of whom are dependent on them for their food supply, shelter, and the satisfaction of most other needs.

621 When a couple moves outside the parental home, the house
591 site that they are given should be contiguous if possible, or as
592 close as there is a place available, to the husband's father's
602 homestead. Thus, ideally, the town should be settled by clusters of domestic groups following localized agnatic lines, each containing a man, his parents, his brothers and his married male sons. At the same time, one would find out that women, because they follow their husbands, live much further apart from their agnatic relatives than men do.

593 After a man moves from his father's household, he is not
591 expected to work the same parcels with his father, but they do
476 share some work in common. Usually (I don't have the exact num-
241 ber of cases, but enough information to suggest that this is the
417 mode), a man and his sons have contiguous milpas that are fenced together. The fences, which are laboriously built and repaired, are the communal job of all the men, and save them the time and effort of building interior separations between the plots, because the purpose of fencing is to keep cattle from invading the parcels and without fences it is useless to risk planting.

423 This does not mean that the land is held jointly. Each man
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TABLE 7

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: NEWLY MARRIED COUPLES IN COMPOUNDS, 1958

| Residence | Cases | Per Cent |
|---|---|---|
| Viri-patrilocal | 13 | 72 |
| Uxor-patrilocal | 4 | 23 |
| Neolocal (Borrowing house) | 1 | 5 |
| Total | 18 | 100 |

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183 Aguacatenango: Residence Patterns of Old Marriages, Nuclear Households

The composition of nuclear households shows that people live according to their own ideas about who should live separate from their parents. Nuclear households with no children in them represents 7 per cent of the total. Nuclear households with only one child also represent 7 per cent of the cases. Nuclear households with two or more children represent 86 per cent.

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593 Paternal sponsorship after a couple has moved out of the husband's parental compound was measured by (1) degree of proximity between the two households of a man and his son, and (2) father-son transmission of a house site.

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593 The fact that the town is closely settled, especially in the center, makes it increasingly difficult to maintain strict contiguous patrilocal proximity between father and son, so at first glance, many a man seems to be living in a neolocal setting according to Fischer's typology. The problem of applying the concept

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114 591 593 of sponsorship is that Fischer indicates that the residence sponsor is a person living in the same household, while in Aguacatenango patrilocal sponsorship is expressed by giving the sons a house site, even if it is not contiguous with the parental one. Therefore, to determine patrilocality of men, the couples in the sample were located (1) territorially, in terms of proximity to the husband's and wife's parents; (2) and in terms of who owned the house site, and from whom it had been obtained.

183 591 [428] The results of this analysis indicate a statistically significant emphasis on patrilocal proximity, and a strong bias towards inheriting the house in the male line.

TABLE 8

AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: PROXIMITY TO PARENTAL HOME. MARRIED INDIVIDUALS IN NUCLEAR HOUSEHOLDS

| | Man | | | | Woman | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Cases | Per Cent | Combined Per Cent | | Cases | Per Cent | Combined Per Cent | |
| Same block | 10 | 56 | 84 | 100 | 3 | 14 | 38 | 76 |
| Adjacent block | 5 | 28 | | | 5 | 24 | | |
| Same barrio | 3 | 16 | 16 | | 8 | 38 | 38 | |
| Different barrio | . . . | . . . | . . . | | 3 | 14 | 24 | |
| Other town | . . . | . . . | | | 2 | 10 | | |
| Total Sample | 18 | 100 | | | 21 | 100 | | |

591 2. When a couple have no male children, they try to keep a married daughter living with them, as a replacement for the unachieved son. They will also attempt to do this in a case where all the male children have refused to stay with the parents after the initial years of married life.

593 888 [626] Parents who are unsuccessful in keeping a married son living with them when they are old have very little prestige in the community because it usually means that there is some conflict between them, and they are easy targets for village gossip. It also means that they have no "insurance for the aged," that is, no child to support them when they grow too old to work.

591 583 Therefore, a couple with a single daughter still at home will be eager to keep her after marriage, to replace the sons who have gone away. To obtain this, the parents will request, during the pedidas (the visits to arrange a marriage, called "asking visits"), that the groom should "come to the house as a yerno (son-in-law) of theirs, and stay there indefinitely. Only if the groom agrees to this condition do they give him the daughter as a spouse.

591 These arrangements are very unstable. A man usually agrees to stay with his wife's parents, but after the marriage has been consummated, he will insist on moving away, being anxious to occupy his place as a dutiful son, living and working with his [606] father whose heir he may be. Women look forward to this kind of arrangement, the same way that they look forward to marrying a man whose mother is dead, because these are ways of avoiding the heavy burden of "becoming nueras" (daughter-in-law) or "suffering

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602 since she is married and living away from them, while the father
757 believes that he did not make a good choice for his son, selecting a bride who is so much of a problem. While a woman is sick, both pairs of parents will bargain endlessly over whose duty it is to pay for the curing. Sometimes, both sets of parents agree on paying half of the cost, and then the woman stays in her husband's compound. But if this is not possible, the shift in responsibility for the woman is symbolically expressed in the shift in residence.

592 Other reasons, of a psychological nature, bring forth
562 this residential change. The whole system of emotional ties which a woman has created in her lifetime before marriage is broken at the time she changes households to get married. She is thrown into the midst of a group of people, including her husband, whom she hardly knows, and during the first years of marriage she is
592 an outsider in her husband's household. She must work for a woman
562 she did not know previously, her mother-in-law, and obey her with-
606 out delay. Although previously she worked for her mother, the role of a mother and of a mother-in-law are not equivalent, especially in their affective content.

606 An interesting triadic relationship develops between a
593 woman, her husband and her mother-in-law, in which she is the one with the smallest amount of social power (see Caplow [1956], Mills [1954], for a discussion on the dynamics of triad coalitions). In spite of the large amount of interaction between the two women, the relationship is not one of friendly collaboration.

592 Command and sanctions are in the hands of the mother-in-
593 law. Obedience is expected from the younger woman. There is a
606

592 clear social differentiation in the allocation of authority, and
593 the relationship is somewhat antagonistic. Many a man finds him-
606 self between a mother complaining bitterly of the laziness of his wife, and a wife of the hardness of his mother. This antagonistic relation is attenuated by the presence of other women in the household (which makes for an easy schedule in the allocation of every day work) and by the personalities of the individuals involved.

606 The relation of a woman and her father-in-law is characterized by a very mild form of avoidance. Verbal interaction is
[264] initiated usually by the father-in-law, and is formal. At meal times the social distance between the two is expressed in the seating arrangements, the young wife sitting at the edge of the eating space, the farthest apart from her husband's father.

593 Together with the pressures brought about by the structure of these relationships, a woman must go through a process of adjustment with the husband, whom she knew only slightly before marriage.

Given this situation, when she is sick, her natal household offers to her certain emotional attractions that her hus-
591 band's household does not. The change of residence at the time
757 of sickness provides a simple example of what Malinowski called the functional solutions offered by a society for the satisfaction of physical as well as emotional needs of the individual. Three cases of residential change for this reason occurred during the summer of 1958.

000 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution

593 423 Independently of the analysis of geographical distribution[139] of individuals, in most cases a couple depends on the family of the husband for obtaining a house site of their own. Looking at the available data in household transactions, regular sponsorship in the male line appears as the statistical mode, the most frequently followed pattern. To explain the 16 per cent of sponsorship in the female line, we refer the reader to the section 1 of the reasons for uxorilocal residence, p. 133.

TABLE 10

423 AGUACATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

| | Cases | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| House-land bought | 22 | 32 |
| House-land obtained through the husband's relatives | 33 | 49 |
| House-land obtained through the wife's relatives | 11 | 16 |
| Family borrowing the house | 2 | 3 |
| Total number of households for which information was available | 68 | 100 |

423 432 593 [183] The norms for house sponsorship are not always followed, for other reasons: land within the town, houseplots, is one of the forms of land which has a monetary value in Aguacatenango. Lots are bought and sold for money, and are used constantly as a resource of income when one is in need of a large amount of [428] cash. Ideally, most parents think that they will give contiguous houses to their male sons, and that their house will be inherited by the last male son who stays in the house until his parents' 423 death.[1] In practice, many times the house has to be sold before 432

[1] Other property is expected to be inherited in equal shares by all sons.

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432 this time arrives. The main reason for selling a house is to
[764] pay for the burial of a family member. Most widows, if the house
[428] is not reclaimed by the husband's agnatic kin (who have rights over the property if there are no mature sons left by the deceased), will sell the sitio to pay for the husband's burial, and will move to their natal households with their children. Some sons will sell the house to pay for the burial of a father. The selling of the house is also a solution for cases of conflicting inheritance rights. For example, if two brothers claim rights to it, and if they both agree about it, they will sell it and the money obtained would be divided among them.

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578 The fission of the compound household into nuclear households is accepted by the villagers as a traditional pattern of behavior, but residential changes are always expressed in terms of on-going conflict between the couples residing in the compound.

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562 A father tries to keep his son living with him for as long as possible because he is an emotional as well as an economic asset to him. While a man has his son living with him, he has an unpaid agricultural worker bound to him by emotional and jural ties and by his economic dependence, and this allows him to maximize the labor force of the household and, therefore, increase production notably. At the same time, he is able to control a relatively larger amount of land for cultivation. If the son leaves the compound, he is forced to divide the land holdings under cultivation and to give him a parcel, a paternal duty which, in spite of the fact that it is expected of them, they try to avoid as long as possible. When the son leaves, the household

593 loses his labor and some of its land holdings, while if a daughter
592 leaves, the loss of labor is marginal, there is no loss of land,
464 and her removal is not a drain on the resources of the household,
562 nor does it upset its basic economy.
423

The multiple bonds between a father and a son over the
591 patrimonial land of the family, the products of their joint ef-
593 fort, and their common responsibility for setting up the standard
182 of living for the homestead, all foster patrilocality.

423 A young man could, today, obtain land without his father's
425 direct help. He cannot obtain irrigated land (because it is ex-
592 tremely scarce, and privately "owned" by the household heads),
621 but he could obtain land in the communal lands of the village.
[593] This, of course, is not the better land, being <u>temporal</u> and far away from the village. Although the <u>temporal</u> land close to town is not privately owned, it is "earmarked" for use by the heads of each household. That is, the communal lands are distributed to households, not by titles of ownership, but by usufruct rights. Even if he decides to take such a step, he needs (1) the approval of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> which oversees the distribution of usufruct rights for the community as a whole, and (2) the recruitment of other men to help him clean and fence the parcel.

621 Neither of the two alternatives is easy to carry out in
593 practice. First, if the <u>Ayuntamiento</u> grants land to a man against
423 his father's will, this creates a problem of jurisdiction between
425 the jural rights of the household head and the administrative
578 rights of the <u>Ayuntamiento</u>. We could not predict what consequences such a case would have, because we have no evidence that it has ever occurred (of course, this is based on the case

593 578 histories collected during the field work season, and it well [621] could be that a case was missed). Second, if he wants to obtain [423] help from other men, they risk antagonizing, with their willing- [476] ness to cooperate, the head of the household in which the young man is residing, and they also risk the concommitant sanctions.

423 The young man could also obtain land without his father's 425 help by leaving the community to work for wages and saving enough 464 money to buy land. Although the selling of parcels is not a 166 common practice in Aguacatenango, the idea of land being a com- [593] modity that can be bought and sold has been introduced, and some few household heads, in cases of emergency, are willing to sell. Of course, leaving the community to work for wages means voluntary exile for a man and alienation from relatives, friends and the cultural milieu. Also, men insist that it is profitable to work for wages only if one does it for short periods of time and keeps milpa simultaneously. Wage work alone is not enough to buy corn and the other necessities to meet the requirements of the customary standard of living.

593 On the other hand, a man breaking away from his home and 621 refusing to accept his father's authority becomes a deviant, and 156 antagonizes not only his family, but the community.

593 Although it is possible, theoretically, to become eco- 592 nomically independent of one's father against his will, in fact 156 a man can only set up his own household in compliance with the ethical principles and moral conventions of his culture. Therefore, he is only permitted to form his own domestic group when he has demonstrated that he has reached the stage of social maturity which allows him to do so.

593 592 885 621 But a man wants to become independent of his father. While he is living within his parent's compound he is considered by the community to be "a child." He is bound to work his father's land and cannot control the produce of his own labor. Until he sets up his own separate domestic group, and becomes economically independent, he does not have full rights to participation in the political life of the community because (1) he is bound to make political decisions following his father's, and he has no voice in most community affairs which are the concern of household heads, and because (2) he cannot materially afford to take up the expenses of officership.

562 592 885 606 Women are also usually anxious to set up their own separate domestic group and independent housekeeping because this gives them some autonomy which they cannot achieve otherwise. The bond between a daughter-in-law and a mother-in-law is not expected to be a strong one. We have already discussed how the two women are assumed to be somewhat antagonistic, and their common work of housekeeping is unequally distributed.

While women live in the same compound with their mother-in-law, they have no power to make decisions of their own about their working schedule, their housekeeping, or the food stored by the elder because this is under the control of the elder woman.

[574] [313] A woman cannot freely take time to visit her mother because she is expected to keep her social life within the boundaries of her husband's domestic unit. She cannot even go to gather firewood, which is an activity highly enjoyed by women. Except for getting water from the well or pipes in the street or gathering firewood, a woman has few chances to go out of the compound.

592 578 nuclear households. The dynamics of social conflict, are, however, controlled by the traditional patterns of behavior and by the negative sanctions applied to the deviant. Only in exceptional situations does a couple leave the husband's parents' house before the birth of a child. Even then, the residential [626] change is expressed by the people in terms of on-going conflict between the women. People say that they moved "because the two women had a fight" and this or similar gossip follows every case of household fission.

593 The break between a father and son is only precipitated by open conflict. Part of this conflict is expressed in tensions between the men. Fathers insist that their sons should stay with them, sons insist that their fathers are selfish and unwilling to help them. But the bond between father and son is, in spite of the standard tensions, a crucial social relation for the society. A man is not judged with sympathy if he does not respect his father and keeps up a "good front" of harmonic relations with him vis-à-vis the community at large.

592 593 578 606 Then, it is not strange that the change of residence is expressed through pointing out the tensions between the women rather than the tensions between father and son. A woman and her daughter-in-law are not members of the same consanguineal group residing in the household, the hoy ta yutil hna (of the same blood who live in the same house), and their antagonism is not viewed by the society as threatening to the unity of the kinship group, while the father-son relation is crucial in this domain. At the same time, the women are the expressive leaders of their

592 respective nuclear families (see Parsons and Bales, Ed., 1955),
593 and in case of conflict it is through their roles that the tensions
578 between the families are verbalized, even if the source of conflict
606 is outside their relationship.

TABLE 11

591 AGUACATENANGO RESIDENCE: UNMARRIED INDIVIDUALS

| Living in Type | Number of Cases | Percentage |
|---|---|---|
| Patrilocal | 8 | 4.0 |
| Matrilocal | 11 | 5.5 |
| Fratrilocal | 3 | 1.5 |
| Parentilocal | 179 | 89.0 |
| Total | 201 | 100.0 |

591 Residence Patterns for Unmarried People
593 Children usually reside with their parents wherever the parents live. Sponsorship has been defined here in terms of both parents and the household in which the parents reside. Parentilocal residence is represented by 89 per cent of a sample of 201 unmarried individuals, but other cases are due to a variety of reasons, most often to situations in which one of the parents is dead or separated from the other definitively. Matrilocal sponsorship is met in the cases when the unmarried person is living with the mother on her natal compound or with the mother and a stepfather. Patrilocal sponsorship corresponds to the following cases: one in which the father is the sponsor, living in a nuclear house with his second wife who is the child's stepmother; cases of

591 children living in the father's parents' compounds without the
593 father who lives separately; one case of a boy living in his father's brother's compound, without his father who is remarried and lives in another household (mother is dead).. Fratrilocal sponsorship (three cases) is due to the death of both parents at a late age in the unmarried individual's life. Adult "orphans" frequently reside with an elder married brother, who in terms of his jural authority and as economic head of the household, replaces the father.

Using Fischer's typology here becomes a real problem. Classifying children as parentilocal or fratrilocal biases the interpretation of the general patterns of residence. In practically all cases, children are sponsored by both parents, but the household in which they reside is a viri-patrilocal homestead. One could as well argue that the children are sponsored not by individual kin, but by a patrilocal household. In this case, patrilocal households will include nearly all of the unmarried population. On the other hand, when a child lives with an elder brother, this man is performing for him the role of father, and fratrilocal sponsorship is not a different type of residence choice, but the incidental effect of an individual's replacement of another man's role.

591 Residence Patterns for Ex-married People
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The case of nepotilocal residence is an interesting one. In terms of Fischer's typology, we have a man living in his mother's sister's son's house. But from the point of view of this

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." [848] Another characteristic that makes this case anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

125 the village any more. These cases seem to illustrate common alternatives, and we must mention them briefly.

591 593 183 We know of three cases in which a newly married couple moved to the husband's brother's compound. In those cases, the brother was an elder who jurally replaced the father, and it seems that he took the responsibility of paying the bride-price for his 591 603 183 brother's wife. We also had four cases of men who, at the time of their marriage, were living with the mother's mother. It seems that this was the result of the parents being dead, and the fact that no other relative was left in the original compound.

## Amatenango Residence

### Residence of Married Couples

591 183 In Amatenango, unlike Aguacatenango, there is no "indication of a single general form of residence pattern" which the villagers would verbalize as normative. "At any stage in the developmental cycle alternative choices in residence with the man's or the woman's relatives depends not on the lineal tie, but on economic factors" (Nash, 1960:41).

591 592 583 606 Married couples live with the parents of one of the spouses for a year or two after they marry. During these years, the young husband is expected to give some labor to the wife's father by working with him in his fields, helping him to carry wood to make the hearth in which women burn pottery, and by performing other small services. The couple live only temporarily with the parents. The stability of the compound households depends on several factors. If there are other marriageable children, offspring of

591 the head of the household, it is likely that the younger couple
592 will move to another house after the temporary service period. If a couple has a married daughter or son living in the house, they will not insist, when a second child marries, that the first couple remain in the unit. Apparently, the most efficient work group is a dyad, both for agricultural work and pottery making (see below). The last child whether male or female will stay in [428] the home and inherit it after the parents' death. It is unlike [184] Aguacatenango where the rule is that only a male child inherits the house.

591 The choice of which parents' household should be the residence of a new couple requires a separate decision for each particular case. The factors that determine the choice are (1) the economic condition of the parents of each spouse; (2) the presence or absence of other children in each spouse's family of orientation, and (3) the age of the couple.

[556] "A new couple will take up residence quarters with the parents who are economically better off, with more land and cattle" [593] (Nash, J., 1960:45). The second factor is related to the fact that [592] if a couple has married children living in the house who can help with the agricultural work and the making of pottery, they are not as anxious to keep their other children as members of the household labor force. The third factor is a personal, rather than a [582] standard, choice, because if a bride is very young at the time of marriage, "her mother may prevail upon the couple to stay in her home until later, even if the boy is working with his father and is to inherit his homestead" (Nash, J., 1960:45).

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592 The distribution of couples living in compounds shows that the primary sponsorship by the parents of the man or the woman are perfectly balanced choices for the community as a whole, each one accounting for 50 per cent of the total number of cases. (See Table 13.)

TABLE 13

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: UXORILOCALITY VERSUS VIRILOCALITY IN COMPOUND HOUSEHOLDS[a]

| | Virilocal | | Uxorilocal | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | No. | Per Cent | No. | Per Cent |
| Only child living with parents, other siblings married and apart | 20 | 18 | 18 | 16 |
| Other immature children living with parents | 20 | 18 | 15 | 13 |
| Other married siblings living in the same sitio | 7 | 6 | 9 | 8 |
| Lives in own house in compound sitio with parents | 10 | 8 | 15 | 13 |
| Total | 57 | 50 | 57 | 50 |

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

591
593 After a couple has moved out of the parental compound in
361 which they were residing, sponsorship by the parents, measured by the degree of residential proximity to the progenitors of each spouse and by the pattern of house-inheritance, also shows a similar distribution, but there is a statistically significant difference between a woman's proximity to her family of orientation after marriage and a man's: 64 per cent of the men in the community live within a block's distance from their parents, while

591 only 49 per cent of the women do so (see Table 14). This indi-
593 cates that patrilocal, patrilineal emphasis is stronger, and the
361 difference needs to be explained.

It is very possible that the community of Amatenango had,
174 in the near past, patrilocal residence norms, as does Aguacatenango
591 and most communities in the Chiapas Highlands. The patrilocal norms would have been in agreement with the presence of agnatic descent lines of which the only remnant, today, in Amatenango, is the agnatic inheritance of Indian names attached to the Spanish surname of the villagers. If this were so, we could explain the persistence of a patrilocal emphasis in these terms. This is a dangerous enterprise because to accept this explanation is to dismiss the importance of the case by arbitrarily attributing the phenomenon to an historical survival, an intellectual misdemeanor which modern anthropology has seriously questioned. But we do
591 not need to utilize this explanation. In the first place, although
428 inheritance is bilateral, the inheritance of the house site shows
423 that patrilineal house sponsorship still is stronger than matrilineal.

> In the inheritance of the house site, women received the land in 30 per cent of the cases, men in 34 per cent. Patrilineal inheritance was more frequent in the parental generation. If we take the figures indicating which parent gave the land to the child, mothers passed on the land in 15 per cent of cases known, and fathers passed on the land in 26 per cent of the known 68 cases. (Nash, J., 1960:51).

If the place of residence is inherited from the male line more often than from the female, it is to be expected that viripatrilocal proximity would be stronger. This offers a reasonable explanation for the higher incidence of patrilocal proximity. The

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 157 ]

TABLE 15

423
428

AMATENANGO: HOUSE TRANSACTIONS AND INHERITANCE

| | Number | Per Cent | Combined Per Cent |
|---|---|---|---|
| Inherited from the wife's relatives | 78 | 30 | 30 |
| Inherited from the husband's relatives | 79 | 34 | 34 |
| Bought | 50 | 19 | |
| Received from Ejido | 27 | 10 | 30.5 |
| Borrowing | 4 | 1.5 | |
| Inherited from husband | 12 | 4.5 | |
| Inherited from wife | 1 | .5 | 5.5 |
| Unmarried orphan, inherited from parents | 1 | .5 | |
| Total | 262 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

591 The
428 fact that this pattern of house sponsorship directly affects the
423 emphasis on patrilocality is compensated for by some recent changes
433 in the economic conditions of the village. In Amatenango, the
593 cooperative bonds between father and son in agricultural work, united with the emphasis on patrilineal inheritance of house sites, foster patrilocality, but, at the same time, the bonds between father and son have entered in competition with the cooperative relation developed between a woman and her daughter in making pottery. If a woman lives close to her mother-in-law, she will assist her more often than her own mother in the firing of pottery--"If a man lives with his wife's family, he will assist his father-in-law in the fields more than he will work with his own father" (Nash, J., 1960:49).

423
593 The reasons for keeping a son are not as pressing as the
[432] reasons for keeping a daughter. Amatenango land holdings are
[184] somewhat smaller than Aguacatenango, and the buying and selling of agricultural parcels, as long as it does not involve outsiders to the village, is a common practice which accounts for approximately 16 per cent of land transactions. The

423 limited land holding units in Amatenango require minimal
241 cooperation in agriculture. Because of fractured land hold-
592 ings, fewer than one-half of the households have two tablones
464 . . . of land. Therefore, fewer than one-half the households can keep more than one man actively employed. Even in those households with from two to five tablones, a man and his adult son are sufficient labor for most activities except harvest.
592 Women's pottery production, however, requires frequent cooper-
323 ation. Two tendencies are reinforcing the cooperation of
434 women, especially of mothers and daughters: (1) with increas-
868 ing need for cash income to buy products which are not longer produced in the home, or which have been introduced, money
[582] is constantly needed. Pottery offers an easy means of acquir-
[178] ing cash with almost immediate returns, and (2) marriages are currently contracted at a later age for girls than formerly. Before, about a generation ago, marriages at the age of eleven or twelve were the rule. Most of the intensive learning of pottery techniques begins at that age. Consequently, pottery was taught to the daughter by the mother-in-law if the girl
[114] was married and resided in the husband's house. (See Frans Blom and Oliver LaFarge [1927] who commented that all pottery was taught by the mother-in-law.) Most marriages now are contracted for girls from 14 to 17 years of age. At this time they are already proficient potters, and accustomed to working with their mother. Therefore, there is a greater stress put on their remaining in or near their parental home after marriage (Nash, J., 1960:47).[1]

592 The people of Amatenango recognize that during the period
868 in which a woman learns to make pottery, she establishes particular
323 habits of cooperation and a strong solidarity bond with the woman from whom she learns and with whom she works. "Parents say that there is an advantage in early marriages, in that the girl would be more willing to learn the ways of her mother-in-law if she

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[61] [1]It is also important to notice that with the increase in population over the area, the market has increased.

TABLE 16

AMATENANGO RESIDENCE: PARENTS AND CHILDREN
PROXIMITY IN SANTA CRUZ[a]

| Proximity | Live in: | Men | | Women | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Number | Per Cent | Number | Per Cent |
| Same Neighborhood | Same house | 3 | 40 | 7 | 67 |
| | Next door | 2 | | 6 | |
| | Same block | 1 | | 1 | |
| | Santa Cruz | 5 | | 4 | |
| Different Neighborhood | Same barrio | 13 | 60 | 7 | 33 |
| | Other barrio | 3 | | 1 | |
| | Other town | 1 | | 2 | |
| Total | | 28 | 100 | 28 | 100 |

| Women | + | - |
|---|---|---|
| Village | 81.5 | 86.5 |
| Santa Cruz | 17.5 | 10.5 |

$x^2 = 18.786$ 10.827 significance level at .001

| Men | + | - |
|---|---|---|
| Village | 94.5 | 54.5 |
| Santa Cruz | 11.5 | 16.5 |

$x^2 = 4.902$ 3.841 significance level at .05

[a]After Nash, J., 1960.

582 richer family marrying a woman of a poorer family" (Tax, 1953:
171 202). "In only 13 of the 36 cases [reported by Tax] were the two families nearly at the same economic level" (Tax, 1953:203). Also, "exceptional but not uncommon" is that a rich man will marry his daughter to a poorer man and rather than loosing a worker, he gains another. In contrast with Panajachel is the case of Chichicastenango (a neighbor to the north) in that, "the time of women in Chichicastenango has until recently not had cash value. (Increased weaving for the tourist trade may change this.) Therefore, in Chichicastenango as opposed to Panajachel there is encouragement to marry within the same wealth class" (Tax, 1953: 206).

128 Affective Relations Within the Household

We have shown how some of the relationships within the domestic group are affected by the patterns of economic activity. In this section, we will discuss them in a different context; rather than in terms of interaction, we shall discuss them in terms of sentiment (Homans, 1950).

121 Homans (1950) has shown how intimacy and affection increase with increased association and interaction, but he also indicated that a relationship of formal respect and asymmetrical authority discourages confidence and affective ties (1950:247) or "at any rate, the fact of authority seems to turn the relationship into an ambiguous, or as the psychoanalyst would say, an ambivalent one" (1950:244).

121 In both Amatenango and Aguacatenango, this type of ambiva-
593 lence is present in the father-son relation, as we indicated in

121 previous pages. Homans points out that this ambiguity is neither
• 593 accidental, nor "natural," but "tends to reappear in societies all over the world in which the family is an important productive unit and the father is the boss" (Homans, 1950:245).

593 The relation son-mother, however, ought to be different
[184] in the two communities. In Aguacatenango, a mother has less and less authority over a son the older he grows. While a man is a child, she controls him without discussion, but as he becomes more and more mature, his role as a man, a superior, makes for conflicting social power. On the one hand the mother is older, and therefore has more authority. Yet on the other hand, she is a female, and therefore the son (a male) has more authority. The balancing of authority between the two cancels it out. A son can, if he wishes, completely alienate himself from his mother. She has not much power to punish or sanction him, no property she can withdraw from him. If he misbehaves, she can only try to advise him or complain to her husband. On the other hand, the absence of authority between the two makes the relationship highly affectionate. If a son stays at home or close-by after marriage, the interaction mother-son is frequent and friendly. In many cases the mother will make a coalition with the son against her husband, defending the younger man. Mothers tend to be very partial towards the judgement of their sons' behavior, and sons obtain what they want from the fathers through their mothers.

In Amatenango, the mother has more economic power over the
[434] son. She can give him cash for extra needs, and he can inherit
[428] land or a house from her, as well as from his father.

128 593 One would expect, then, that the affective distance between mother and son in Amatenango would be larger. It is unfortunate that this hypothesis cannot be tested at the moment. This author does not have available the relevant information to make the comparison reliable.

593 184 There is evidence, nonetheless, that the sibling bond is different.

In Aguacatenango, the important sibling bond after marriage is only between the siblings who have cooperative tasks to carry [607] out in common: brothers. The relationships of brothers with sisters is respectful and distant, and brothers-in-law are not equated, in behavioral terms, with brothers. Sisters, after marriage, have little chance to see each other, except at fiestas, and they become quite alien to each other.

In Amatenango, on the contrary, the sibling bond is multilateral. Sisters and sisters collaborate with each other, brothers with brothers, and siblings of different sex also do so. Moreover, [607] siblings-in-law are equated with siblings, and they form a complex generational set of group relations.

606 184 A final difference in the affective content of role relations within the domestic group is the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law relations.

606 593 184 In Aguacatenango, there is a striking contrast between the relation mother-daughter and the relation daughter-in-law-mother-in-law. We have discussed extensively how antagonistic and asymmetrical it is. Although the mother has authority over the daughter, she plays (has played) a nurturant role for her, which

606 184 a mother-in-law does not. The affective ties which develop with
• [593] the nurturant figure are extremely durable, even though they seldom see each other after the daughter marries.

[868] In Amatenango, perhaps because of early marriages which increase the nurturant aspect of the mother-in-law role (she certainly takes part in the socialization of the daughter-in-law by teaching her how to make pottery), and because of the establishment of a relationship before the younger woman had many chances to establish adult affective ties with any woman other than her own mother, the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond is less tense. The women create a strong solidarity bond in their active cooperation in pottery making, and their association is both intense and constant. The result is that "a successful relationship between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law is not an authoritarian one, but is rather characterized by mutual cooperation" (Nash, J., 1960: 184 29, 62-67). We can also observe that the residence pattern 591 grants, in Aguacatenango, unconditional power to the mother-in-law, 606 while in Amatenango, where a woman after marriage can reside with 578 her own parents if she dislikes her in-laws, a mother-in-law is made to be more careful about her own behavior towards the younger woman. If she is too harsh, she can find herself with no female help in the house, and losing a son at the same time, which means that the household loses two laborers.

000 precisely stated. Today, with the total increase in land holdings,
423 the influence of the Ejido Commission (however minimal) and the
621 introduction of a money economy in which land is becoming more
592 and more of a commodity that can be bought and sold, in terms of
198 contract transactions, land tends to be thought of as individual
household property. There have been several cases in which
[593] brothers have bought land from each other, although they are the
people from which a line member can expect to obtain land, or in
the absence of it, the necessary help to clear and fence a new
parcel in forested communal territory.

178 Other reasons for the constant breaking of linearity,
613 which reduced the patriline to a very shallow group, are inherent
593 in the system itself. First, the antagonism between brothers over
423 property rights tends to make the sibling group weak, and agnatic
lines split in each generation.

593 Insofar as siblings occupy an equivalent position with
[592] respect to the elders in the household, their sentiments towards
one another are easy and affectionate, but insofar as the elder
sibling has jural authority over the younger ones, the relationship
is marked by constraint, respect and a certain ambivalence.

Thus, siblings are expected to love each other, to give each other company, to help when necessary, and to share, in some aspects of their life, a common position with respect to the community at large, or what Homans calls the external system (1950: 90-94).

The equivalence of siblings, especially those of the same sex, is evident in many observations. A man whose brother is

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango



593 [620] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

[736] The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[494] [578] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 578 538 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango .
Aguacatenango



593 578 538 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimogeniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 592 593 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 428 592 593 [591] [583] The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be compensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 578 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament

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[1] That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.

593 nor in brotherly love. At times, the transmission of property and
598 authority is smooth; at times it reaches open conflict and extreme hostility.

[754] In several case histories from Aguacatenango, this antagonism between brothers has been expressed by the informants in the "witchcraft" idiom.

593 In one case, for example, a man, while drunk, threatened
598 his younger brother with witchcraft, because their father had not
754 given him a house (the man lived in a house given to him by his
428 wife's relatives), but the younger brother was known to everybody to have been promised his father's sitio. In another case, a man, Miguel, gave his brother, Juan, part of his father's inheritance. Juan divided it among his own sons without consulting Miguel. After a while, one of Juan's sons died, and the people said that it was Miguel, angered by the distribution of property which he considered his own, who had bewitched Juan's son, his own agnatic nephew, in revenge.

593 The antagonism between brothers reaches aspects other than
598 inheritance itself, such as the rights of sons over father's eco-
525 nomic assistance. Church weddings, for example, are considered to be more binding than the traditional local ceremony or civil marriages. In most cases, there is a second marriage ceremony performed after the birth of a child, when the marriage has proved stable and the couple needs to have proof of a religious wedding to get the child baptized.

In one of our case histories from Aguacatenango, the rivalry of two brothers became evident over the matter of a church

593 578 585 wedding. One son had married and already lived outside his father's compound. His younger brother was married, but stayed with the father. The younger brother obtained from his father a church wedding and the fiesta which accompanies it. The elder felt cheated. He was older, but he had not been given a church wedding, which he felt he should have had first. The father insisted that the elder son did not deserve it. First, he had not stayed in the house long enough after his marriage because "his wife was a bad daughter-in-law and insisted on moving out taking him away." Second, he was living outside his sitio and, being economically independent, he should have been able to pay for his own church wedding.

[626] The opinions of the villagers were divided. On the one hand, it was clear that only the child who is being supported had the right to get the father's direct economic assistance. On the other hand, the elder son had seniority rights.

593 578 428 We do not know the outcome of this particular case, but the evidence is strong enough to suggest that the relationship between brothers, especially in terms of each one's position as an heir with respect to their father, is not clearly resolved by the society, and is (1) a likely place of conflict in the social structure, and (2) a point of fission in the patriline genealogical continuity and depth. Second, the alternative pattern of patri-uxorilocal residence, and the concomitant fact that a man works the land with his affinals and inherits from them, and that a woman can inherit a house site, breaks in some cases the exclusive rights of inheritance within the patriline.

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal, NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



562 428 598 The inheritance rights of women are highly controversial. All the cases of conflict over the inheritance or rights of usufruct of land, that we know about, involved a woman in the line [183] of transmission. But however controversial, they are an established pattern. This is shown in the following cases.

Case 1

159 592 593 562 554 428 434 Delfina is about twenty-four years old, and still single. She was raised by her godmother in San Cristóbal, and her aspirations are to become a Ladina. She has consistently refused to marry any Indian man, and lives with her parents in a large compound. She is economically self-sufficient (perhaps the only woman in the village which is in the same position), because she works for the INI as a sewing teacher, and her status in the household is quite high due to the fact that she draws a large salary and that her parents are close to senility and dependent on her. Until recently, her married brother lived in the compound with his parents. He insisted that at his parents death he should inherit everything: land, house and animals. Delfina and his father were of the opposite opinion: the house should be for Delfina, since she was supporting them and, as she expressed it: "she did not get married." Faced with the brother's insistence about his traditional rights, the father ordered him out of the household, and he and his wife left town and went to live in Amatenango. [626] Most villagers, however, think that Delfina is in the wrong. They say that she is alzada (prideful) and loose in her relations with Ladino men (the employees of the INI that come to the village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 428 562 578 now cultivating it, and has been doing so for a long time, refuses to return it, even if he is paid half of the value of the land, or only asked to give half of it to Chilola's son.

The reason for the inheritance rights of the people concerned not being clear is that twice, in the sequence of transmission, women have passed on the property, and as a result, it has left the hands of the original lineage.

Chilola's feelings are quite strong: the land belonged to [606] her husband. Even if her mother-in-law had rights over the prop- [736] erty at Chilola's husband's death, she was being supported by Chilola, and certainly, neither her mother-in-law's second husband nor their daughter has primacy rights against her son. (See Genealogy, Fig. 16.)

[423] The case is obviously complicated by the fact that the property rights are defined not only in terms of inheritance rights, but in terms of usufruct (in a sense, they do not have land tenure, but milpa tenure), and the other men had been taking care of the parcel for a long time, which makes them feel that it is theirs.

159 422 593 578 This type of conflict carries over to other property, such as livestock, as exemplified in the next case.

Case 3

[1131] When Candelario Aguilar married, Juana, his wife received a regalo from her father: a bull. Candelario sold the bull and bought a cow, which had a calf.

Candelario left town and gave the cow and calf to his father Francisco, so that they would take care of it in his absence.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 193]

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During the branding of animals in the village, Francisco received a letter from Candelario asking him to brand the cow and calf for him. Francisco and his son, Epifanio, did so.

This started the conflict. Jose Mendez, Juana's brother, felt that the cow and calf did not rightfully belong to Candelario, nor to Francisco or Epifanio, but to him. Epifanio had a fight with Jose, and the latter, insisting on his rights, which were not very clear, stated that Candelario had sold him the cow (which was not true), when they were working in the lowlands together. Casimira, Juana and Jose's mother, supported Jose's claims over the animals, because it was the money obtained from Juana's bull that had paid for the cow that had the calf. The relatives of her daughter's husband had less right over the animal than Juana's brother.

It is possible that Jose felt that the cow and calf had been purchased with the money obtained from selling a bull which was originally his father's, not his sister's. Even if it was his sister's, he felt he had more right to use it than the sister's husband's brother and father. If owner of the bull or the cow had been a brother rather than a sister, the conflict would not have arisen. (For genealogy see Fig. 17.)

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Third, with the introduction of Catholicism, although the native belief system has preserved many of its early features, it is now, without doubt, a new syncretic elaboration. The pervasive witchcraft powers are, for example, attributed now to Catholic saints, but the concept that the lineage heads of principales have witchcraft power to punish deviants within their

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



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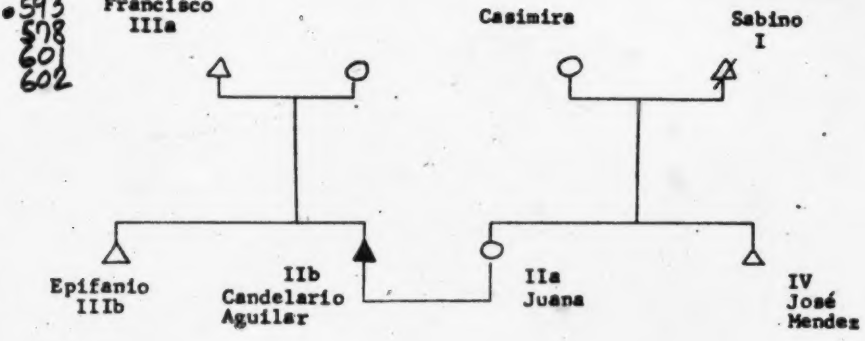


I to IIb indicate the order in which the bull was transmitted.

IIb-IIIb indicate the order in which cow and calf were transmitted.

IV is the man that pretends to have rights over the animals, with his mother's support.

Fig. 17.--Genealogy of Candelario Aguilar

184 vis-à-vis their husbands and male kinsmen, while in Aguacatenango,
182 it makes them economically dependent, and subordinates from a jural
462 point of view. In one case females inherit as men do, in the
592 other, inheritance follows a male line. In one case, they control
434 the same property as men do, in the other, they control only
[428]
[421] marginal property.

184 (3) The relative importance of a man is labor versus a
182 woman's labor within the domestic unit affects residence. In
462 Aguacatenango, where all important productive activities are in
434 the hands of men, residence is patri-virilocal, and only males are
591 residence sponsors regularly. In Amatenango, where productive activities are in the hands of both males and females, residence is alternately matri-uxorilocal or patri-virilocal, and both males and females can become residence sponsors. In Amatenango, households that depend more on the women's labor in pottery making are uxorilocal, while households in which the largest part of the domestic group income is derived from agriculture have post-marital patri-virilocal residence of their members.

[323]
[241]

184 In Aguacatenango, where all household income is derived
182 from agriculture and residence is patri-virilocal, matri-uxorilo-
434 cality occurs sporadically due to some other economic and non-
591 economic factors: (a) the inheritance of some land in the female
593 line when a daughter structurally replaces a son; (b) the coopera-
428 tive work between father-in-law-son-in-law when they replace the
562 position of father and son for each other; (c) the payment of
602 curing ceremonies and medicines for a sick married woman by her
606 own kin rather than her husband's.
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8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango



184 (4) The reciprocal financial obligations between parents
182 and children in Amatenango, and between parents and sons in Agua-
428 catenango, to support each other at different stages of the de-
593 velopmental cycle of their respective domestic groups affect the rule of ultimogeniture.

184 (5) The relative wealth of the natal domestic group of
182 the spouse, measured by the amount of land controlled by the unit
582 affects (a) the choice of marriage partner, and (b) the residence
591 of the newly married couple. In Aguacatenango, where residence
556 is normatively patri-virilocal, parents try to marry their daughters within the same economic level of their own households. In Amatenango, marriages occur across wealth lines, and the couple reside with the parents of the spouse who are better off.

184 (6) The relative importance of men versus female co-
182 operative work groups, and/or the difference in structuring of
462 work groups affects (a) the sibling bond; (b) the mother-daughter
476 bond; and (c) the mother-in-law-daughter-in-law bond.
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[606] In Aguacatenango, where only men form cooperative work groups, the brother-brother bond is stronger than the sister-sister bond or the brother-sister bond.

In Amatenango, where both males and females form cooperative
[607] work groups, the multilateral sibling bond is reinforced to the point of including siblings-in-law.

184 In Aguacatenango, economic rivalry between siblings tends
593 to disrupt the brother bond with constant conflict. Thus, relation-
578 ships are more vertically oriented which is consistent with the
591 presence of agnatic descent lines (in Amatenango, generational
[613]

184 solidarity is stronger than cross-generational solidarity), but
593 generational conflict tends to disrupt the collateral extension
598 of patriline growth, making every patriline segment a shallow
591 descent group containing few generations in depth, and only few
613 collaterals.

184 (7) Territorial propinquity between households in each
361 village follows the social propinquity established in terms of eco-
592 nomic reciprocity and work interaction. Thus, in Amatenango resi-
476 dence for individuals, interaction between households and the settlement of a neighborhood follow a bilateral pattern, while in Aguacatenango the three follow the male and agnatic line. The type of economic organization, based on the domestic group, correlates with the type of domestic group formed thereof.

184 The domestic group in Aguacatenango, with an internal
59 economy based on the cooperative work of father and son and the
428 transmission of property in the male line, is a kinship unit built
562 around a core of agnatically related males with patri-virilocal residence. Among the Aguacatecos, at least one son of the nuclear family remains in the parents' household after marriage. All other children marry and move out, the sons staying close to the father. In this way, the family continues through time, from one generation to the next, as a perennial corporate group of agnatic order, which extends itself in space as a patrilocally localized agnatic line, and perpetuates itself, in time, through the principle of agnatic ultimogeniture.

The domestic group in Amatenango, with an internal economy based on the cooperative work of both a father and son, a mother

9:Nash E-5 (1964) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Tzo?ontahal

the new officials are publicly defined before overlapping sets of participants and observers. Within each setting, the multiple sets of relationships which determine the individual's selection for a role are indicated in Appendix 3.

It has often been stated of Guatemalan and Mexican highland Maya communities that public office is an undertaking of the household. The precise dimensions of this support have yet to be defined in an activity context. Visitors and helpers in the household celebration provide one such context in which the parameters of the aid can be defined (Charts 2, 3, 4). Primary support is given by the official's wife, without whom he would not be serving in the hierarchy.[5] She serves him by waiting for him in the house, taking care of the money he might have to guard as a civil official, and watching him while he is drunk from the bouts in the townhall so that he will not harm himself by falling in the fire or be harmed by his enemies. His advisors and councilors in the household are the *nakawanehetik*.[6] These are men who have passed through some of the civil offices —at least those of *alferez* and first regidor—and who are somehow related to the new official.[7] A second group of supporters in the household serve as errand boys and assistants, the *balnialetik*. They are chosen from among brothers, brothers-in-law,[8] sons, *compadres* (ritual co-parents), godchildren, and neighbors. A third group are the *ik̆oltawanehetik*, the fe-

[5] Innumerable instances attest to the significance of the wife in officeholding. For example, at the final ceremony in a betrothal, the boy is advised by his elders that now he will be called to serve the pueblo. Or, in the court case of a judge whose wife wished to leave him because he had beaten her, the other judges counseled her to wait until he had completed his term of office.

[6] The term *nakawanehetik* may be derived from the honorific prefix *nak*, found in other Maya languages (Laf'arge, 1947). Another possibility is that it may be the stem *na*, 'house,' plus *kawanehetik*, tentatively glossed as 'officials.'

[7] In the case of the president (in the observed sequence) his father, who had passed through all the offices up to the first judge and had fulfilled his turns in the religious hierarchy as well, was the first *nakawane*.

[8] The term *bal* is generic for brother-in-law, *nial* for father-in-law, but whether this formerly had significance in the selection of assistance I do not know. At present, brothers-in-law are chosen along with others, such as godchildren or neighbors.

[P. 216-B]

APPENDIX 3A—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN CIVIL INAUGURATION

| SETTING | ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups) | RELATIONSHIP | BEHAVIOR |
|---|---|---|---|
| House, evening of inauguration | *?AČ'A?TEL*, new officials | Ego | Receives guests, sits next to leader *nakawane* |
| | *NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials | Father of new official or elder of neighborhood who has passed in higher offices (first regidor and elder mayordomo) | Initiates greetings; sits in head seat |
| | *BALNIALETIK*, assistants | Sons of new officials, husbands of daughters or of sisters | Serve food, measure drinks |
| | *?AK'SIETIK*, wood gatherers | Neighbors, compadres, brothers | Bring wood, eat, drink |
| | *ME?ELETIK*, Me?il K'op, woman speaker Yinam, wife | Mother, or elder relative | Responds to *nakawane's* greetings |
| | *SKOLTAWANEHETIK*, helpers | | Serves food. Cook food, dish out food, eat |
| House, morning of inauguration | *NAKAWANEHETIK*, house officials | Father and/or elder neighbors | Initiates greetings, addresses blessing to liquor |
| | *A?TELETIK ALKALETIK REHIROLETIK*, judges, regidores | Men of village | Receive food and liquor |
| | *BALNIALETIK*, assistants | Brothers-in-law, godsons, compadres, fa's sis's sons, brother, comadre's son, neighbors | Serve food, measure drink |
| | *YULATAK*, visitors | Men from rural colonias | Give *abrazo*, embrace, to new president, eat, drink |
| | *ME?ELETIK*, women<br>Me?il k'op<br>Sčebal Sme?<br>Yolebal Sme? | Mother or elder relative<br>?<br>?<br>? | Responds to *nakawane's* and *alkal's* greeting. Orders women in serving of food |
| | *ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK*, helpers | (See Chart 3) | Cooks food, dishes out food |
| Townhall, morning session, civil inauguration | *K'A?A?TELETIK*, old officials | Men of village | Drink; wait for new officials seated |
| | *?ALPERESETIK*, alfereces | Men of village | Bring banners from church, drink wait for new officials |

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APPENDIX 3B—SUMMARY OF SETTINGS, ROLE, AND BEHAVIOR IN RELIGIOUS INAUGURATION

105
192
554
794

| SETTING | ROLE (terms in capital letters refer to groups) | RELATIONSHIP | BEHAVIOR |
|---|---|---|---|
| [574] House of kobraria Sacramento, morning of inauguration | KOBRARIA SAKRAMENTU | Ego | Receives guests; sits at first seat on outside wall near door |
| [604] [605] | NAKAWANEHETIK | Fa's brother and fa's brother's sons | Initiates greetings, sits at head seat |
| [593] [608] | BALNIALETIK | Sons, sons of campadres, neighbors | Serve liquor, food |
| [602] | ME?ELETIK, women | Elder female relative | Responds to *nakawane's* greetings, orders helpers |
| [608] | Me?ilk'op, woman speaker | | |
| | ŠKOLTAWANEHETIK, helpers | Comadres, sisters, neighbors | Prepare food, coffee |
| | MARTOMAETIK<br>3 KOBRARIA<br>TATILETIK<br>NIČ'ANILETIK | | Eat and drink. Listen to advice of *nakawanchetik* |
| Church, morning of inauguration | PÍŠKAL, fiscal<br>KURA, priest<br>?AČ'MARTOMAETIK, new mayordomos<br>K'A MARTOMAETIK, old mayordomos | | Advises mayordomos of duties. Divides up candles brought by mayordomos; hands them to new mayordomos |